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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

### ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

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### CONTENTS

28 NOVEMBER 1988

#### PARTY, STATE AFFAIRS

Proceedings of 13 September Armenian CP Central Committee Plenum .....	1
Information Report [KOMMUNIST, 14 Sep 88] .....	1
First Secretary Arutyunyan Address [S.G. Arutyunyan; KOMMUNIST; 15 Sep 88] .....	2
Other Officials Address Plenum [KOMMUNIST, 17 Sep 88] .....	30
Plenum Resolution [KOMMUNIST, 28 Sep 88] .....	56
Kazakh 1st Secretary Kolbin on Changes, Improvements in Party Organization [G. Kolbin; PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN No 18, Sep 88] .....	61
August Uzbek CPSU Central Committee Plenum Tackles Agricultural Issues .....	66
First Secretary Nishanov Address [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 27 Aug 88] .....	66
Plenum Resolution [PRAVDA VOSTOKA, 3 Sep 88] .....	81
Coverage of 24 Sep Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum .....	84
Information report [SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 25 Sep 88] .....	84
Masaliyev report [SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 25 Sep 88] .....	85
Elections Held for TaSSR's New Khatlon Party Obkom [TadzhikTA; KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 14 Oct 88] .....	97

#### RELIGION

Officials, Clergymen, Journalists Discuss Need for Religious Tolerance [MOSCOW NEWS No 44, 6-13 Nov 88] .....	98
Philosophy Student Requests Rehabilitation of the Word 'God' [N. Lavrenyuk; VEK XX I MIR No 8, 1988] .....	100

#### CULTURE

Sharpened Literary Polemics Prompt Call for 'Constructive Dialogue' [A. Neverov; PRAVDA, 18 Oct 88] .....	102
More Letters on Monument to Stalin's Victims [SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 24 Sep 88] .....	104

#### REGIONAL ISSUES

Latvian Popular Front Draft Program, Charter Published .....	108
Latvian Popular Front Draft Program [SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 8 Sep 88] .....	108
Latvian Popular Front Draft Charter [SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 9 Sep 88] .....	114
Estonian Ethnic Relations Forum Issues Declarations .....	117
Positions on Ethnic Relations, Cultural Autonomy [SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 27 Sep 88] .....	117
Addendum to Cultural Autonomy Declaration [SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 28 Sep 88] .....	119
Toome Assesses Estonian Political Climate [Y. Kozhukhova; NEW TIMES No 39, Sep 88] .....	119
Readers' Letters on Russian-Lithuanian Nationality Relations [SOVETSKAYA LITVA, 4 Oct 88] .....	123
Baltic MD Press Conference Covers Environment, Local Civil-Military Relations [L. Batura, B. Sebyakin; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 30 Sep 88] .....	126
Ethnic Problems in Udmurt ASSR Examined [K. Kulikov; SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 29 Sep 88] .....	127
Nationalities Disturbances Create Problems In Naval Training [V. Bisultanov; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 15 Oct 88] .....	130

**Proceedings of 13 September Armenian CP  
Central Committee Plenum**

**Information Report**

*18300056a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
14 Sep 88 p 1*

[Unattributed Information Report on the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. Words/Passages in boldface/italics as published]

[Text] On 13 September 1988, a plenum was held of the Central Committee of the Armenian Communist Party. Invited to the plenum were the section heads of the Armenian CP Central Committee, the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms, the secretaries of the party committees with the equivalent rights of raykoms, the ministers, the chairmen of the state committees which were not part of the Central Committee and the Auditing Commission of the Armenian CP, the chairmen of the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms of the soviets, the leaders of the major enterprises and organizations, the representatives of the trade union and Komsomol organizations, science, public education, culture, the mass information media and the Soviet Army.

The plenum examined the question "Concerning the Tasks of the Party Organizations in Overcoming the Phenomena of Stagnation in the Economy, the Social Sphere and Improving the Ideological and Moral Situation in the Republic." Giving the report on this question was the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan.

Participating in the debates on the report were: the First Secretary of the Yerevan Armenian CP Gorkom M.S. Minasbekyan, the First Secretary of the Stepanovan Armenian CP Raykom Yu.G. Chshmarityan, the tool makers brigade leader from the Gegama Production Association in the Rayon imeni Kamo P.A. Afrikyan, the President of the Armenian Academy of Sciences V.A. Ambartsumyan, the editor of the newspaper KOMMUNIST B.M. Mkrtchyan, the First Deputy Chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers and the Chairman of the Republic Gosagroprom V.M. Movsisyan, the First Secretary of the Amasiyskiy Armenian CP Raykom G.N. Gasanov, the Chairman of the Board of the Armenian Writers' Union R.K. Oganessian, the Armenian Minister of Internal Affairs U.S. Aurtunyan, the First Secretary of the Leninakan Armenian CP Gorkom M.L. Mkrtchyan, the First Secretary of the Krasnoselskiy Armenian CP Raykom S.A. Nazinyan, The Chairman of the Armenian Committee of People's Control G.A. Martinrosyan, the milkmaid from the Lori Breeding Farm in Kalininskiy Rayon P.D. Arkelyan, the Deputy Chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Republic Gosstroy B.V. Artsruni and the First Secretary of the Echmiadzinskiy Armenian CP Raykom M.S. Mkhitaranyan.

Giving the final speech at the plenum was the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan.

The plenum adopted a decree on the question discussed and the decree will be published in the press.

The plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee also examined organizational questions.

The plenum released R.A. Arzumanyan from the duties of the secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee and member of the Bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee because of transfer to a different job; M.O. Muradyan was released from the duties of the secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee and head of the section for construction and the municipal economy under the Armenian CP Central Committee and member of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee in line with transfer to other work; D.A. Arutyunyan from the duties of a member of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee in line with retiring on pension; Kh.L. Mandalyan from the duties of candidate member of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee and head of the section for party organizational work under the Armenian CP Central Committee in line with transfer to other work.

By secret balloting the plenum elected G.A. Galoyan as the secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee and member of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee.

By secret balloting the plenum elected the First Secretary of the Yerevan Armenian CP Gorkom, M.S. Minasbekyan, and the First Secretary of the Leninakan Armenian CP Gorkom, M.L. Mkrtchyan, as members of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee.

The plenum confirmed R.Ya. Akopyan as the head of the sector for party organizational work under the Armenian CP Central Committee and by secret balloting elected him a candidate member of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee.

The plenum released V.A. Megrabyan from the duties as head of the industry sector under the Armenian CP Central Committee in line with retiring on pension; M.S. Minasbekyan from the duties as head of the transport and communications sector under the Armenian CP Central Committee due to transfer to another job; Z.A. Nunashyan from the duties as head of the General Section of the Armenian CP Central Committee in line with the transfer to other work; S.M. Khachatryan from the duties as chairman of the Party Control Commission under the Armenian CP Central Committee in line with retirement on pension; E.A. Araksman-Manukyan from the duties as editor of the newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN in line with transfer to other work.

The plenum confirmed L.Kh. Chakhmakhchyan as the head of the General Section of the Armenian CP Central Committee; G.A. Oganyan as the Chairman of the Party Control Commission under the Armenian CP Central Committee; Shch.B. Davtyan as the Editor of the newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN.

With this the plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee concluded its work.

Also participating in the work of the plenum was the Deputy Head of the Section for Party Organizational Work under the CPSU Central Committee, G.P. Kharchenko.

**First Secretary Arutyunyan Address**  
*18300056a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
*15 Sep 88 pp 1-6*

[Report by the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan given at a plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee on 13 September 1988: "Concerning the Tasks of the Party Organizations in Overcoming the Phenomena of Stagnation in the Economy, in the Social Sphere and Improving the Ideological and Moral Situation in the Republic"]

[Text] Comrades! Our plenum has met at a difficult time for our republic. Tribulations have befallen it which the republic has not experienced for many decades. It is not only or even so much a question of the well-known events of recent months. The crisis situation which has presently become a torturous reality arose long ago, during the period of seeming well-being and prosperity, when year after year banners were presented to us to stormy applause.

The pleasant euphoria, as you know, continued in our republic even after the historic April 1985. The ostentation and sham flourished. The idea was constantly fostered that supposedly restructuring had begun in our republic significantly sooner than in the nation as a whole. At the same time, the situation in the republic was critical and complications were multiplying literally in all spheres of life.

The lag in the economy was becoming aggravated. The plans for scientific and technical progress were systematically unfulfilled, production efficiency declined, the quality of the produced product deteriorated and many enterprises were in a difficult financial situation. The social dissatisfaction of the people grew. The supply of food products for the public did not improve and the demand for consumer goods was not satisfied. An intolerable situation developed in life, in trade, in medical, consumer and municipal services, as well as in the supply of the public with drinking water. Ecological problems were exacerbated.

Such abnormal phenomena put down roots in the republic such as the theft of socialist property, corruption, bribery, protectionism, and a disrespectful attitude to the laws. The principles of social justice were violated. Among a certain portion of the people, there was the devaluing of socialist values and the wave of consumerism grew stronger. General dissatisfaction grew everywhere. There was a decline in labor activeness, initiative and responsibility for the assigned job.

There were serious problems in internal party life and personnel policy and the bolshevik traditions of the republic party organization began to be lost. The effectiveness of organizational, ideological and indoctrinational work declined sharply. Many party committees showed indecisiveness in combating the negative phenomena and were unable to skillfully employ the high sociopolitical activeness of the masses evoked by the restructuring to carry out urgent problems.

The major miscalculations and errors in the organizational and political work of the republic party organization and primarily its Central Committee lie at the basis of the reasons for the phenomena of stagnation in the economy, in the social sphere and in sociopolitical life.

Unfortunately, no major change in the stance and work occurred after the exacting and valid criticism directed against us at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Let me again recall the words of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said a year ago: "The republic's workers are showing great concern for the situation which has developed here in the economy and particularly in the ideological and moral sphere. At the same time, the leadership of the Armenian Communist Party and primarily the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, feels that the situation in the republic is completely good. Moreover, some have even asserted that restructuring began in Armenia prior to the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. It is hard to say just what they have in mind in the given instance.

"The republic has shown a completely unjustified complacency, there is not the proper exactingness shown for the cadres, and an effective struggle has not been initiated against bribery, speculation and protectionism. The Armenian CP Central Committee should thoroughly analyze the state of affairs in the party organization and as a whole in the republic, view it from principled positions and initiate restructuring not in words but in deeds."

The subsequent course of events in the republic persuasively confirmed the objectivity of the assessment for the situation existing in our republic. At present, the Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee is confronted with the immediate and responsible task of analyzing the existing situation in a spirit of party principledness and with a feeling of great responsibility, and should elaborate a precise program of actions to carry out the tasks of

restructuring, to implement the political course of the 27th Party Congress, the ideas of the 19th Party Conference and the decisions of the July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The existing situation greatly concerns the communists, the workers and the entire people of Soviet Armenia. Our plenum today should justify the expectations and hopes of the workers.

#### **Not in Words, But in Deed to Bring About a Major Change Toward Social Needs of the People**

Comrades! The restructuring and fundamental renewal of all aspects of our life are inconceivable without a major turning to the concrete needs and requests of the people. Life forces us to take a new look at the problems of the social sphere and to thoroughly analyze its growing importance. The lessons of the past also require from us greater attention to social problems.

The years of stagnation have left us with a difficult heritage. The unilateral growth of gross indicators for the development of material production introduced a marked distortion between economic growth and social progress. Judge for yourselves. While over the last 15 years the gap for per capita production of national income between the republic and the nation has declined by 1.2-fold, for disposable national income, that is, for the main source of improving the material and cultural level of the population's life, this gap has virtually remained unchanged. And it presently is almost 20 percent. Characteristically, our lag is visible in virtually all the most important indicators for the development of the social infrastructure, for providing the public with housing, public health and preschool facilities as well as the development of trade and paid services.

It must be said directly that this has been the result of the prevailing of technocratic approaches to posing and solving social problems, an underestimation and, I would say, a stifling of the real opportunities for conducting an active social policy.

At present, it has become apparent that our main losses have risen in the social sphere, in the area of human relations. For the further development of the republic over the years we had to "pay" an excessively dear price and this was expressed not so much in economic results as social and moral ones.

The existing situation in the development of the social sphere requires a radical reform. It moves into the forefront the necessity of carrying out a new long-term, well thought-out and strong social policy. The party, soviet and economic leaders on all levels should, finally, realize that they owe a great debt to the republic workers.

I am emphasizing this because there still is extant the discredited practice of the residual assigning of resources to improve the well-being of the republic. Even the 1989

draft plan provides only 1.4 percent increase in capital investments for projects in the nonproduction area and 3.9 percent increase for housing. Moreover, there is a drop in comparison with the current year for the completion of preschool facilities, general education schools and public health facilities. If there is not a decisive pick-up in the entire front of work for the accelerated development of the social sphere sectors, then the people will not see any positive sense to that undertaking which the party commenced in April 1985. In this context the Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, Gosstroy, Gosagroprom and the corresponding Central Committee sections must fundamentally revise the unworkable methods of managing the entire social sphere of the republic and bring about a final change in the existing stereotypes. Here there must not be any weakening.

**Our goal is, by the year 2000, to reach fundamentally new standards of living for the public. The line of the 27th CPSU Congress for the social reorientation of economic growth should become the heart of all our structural and investment policies.**

The workers are expecting from us not merely correct, self-critical words and statements on this account but real practical steps and concrete, tangible changes for the better. Then confidence will be instilled, there will be greater energy in carrying out the tasks involved in the socioeconomic transformation of the republic. It is important to realize that we are capable of much more than we were used to during the long years of stagnation.

Among the social problems which the party views as immediate and top-priority is, undoubtedly, *satisfying the needs of the population for food products*. Unfortunately, the situation in this area is very serious for us. And the main reason here is that the entire concept for the development of our economy's agrarian sector for many years has been based on an absolutizing of the factor of the limited natural opportunities to increase the production volume of farm products. The result is obvious: in terms of the per capita production of food products, we are 1.8-fold behind the Union average, and we continue to provide two-thirds of the milk requirements and over 40 percent of the meat by subsidies from the Union funds. And this is no accident for over the last two five-year plans, the average annual increase rate for agricultural products has not exceeded 2 percent and labor productivity has risen by 1.8 percent. All of this while around 3 billion rubles have been invested into the sector.

Characteristically, with the formation of the new bodies for managing the agroindustrial complex, the situation has deteriorated. Much below the Food Program are the quotas of the 12th Five-Year Plan for the production and procurement of grain, milk, potatoes, fruits, grapes and melon crops. But even with this the plan quotas for certain of these were not fulfilled. There can only be one

conclusion here: the management mechanism in the agrarian sector, in essence, has been transformed into a mismanagement mechanism.

The public today is concerned by the unsatisfactory supply of livestock products. The per capita consumption of meat and meat products in our republic is 24 percent below the average Union level. The consumption of whole milk products is 2-fold below the established nutritional requirement. At the same time our republic has enormous unused reserves. One out of every four farms does not fulfill the plan for meat deliveries, and milks from one dairy cow approximately 30 percent less than the republic average. The capacity of the livestock complexes and poultry farms is just 60 percent utilized. For several five-year plans running, as an average per 100 cows we have received 72-78 calves, and per 100 ewes some 82-84 lambs and this is 14-18 percent below the Union averages.

For many years running we have been criticized for the poor quality of feed, for serious shortcomings in feed and feed preparation, but the situation has not changed. The natural hay fields and pastures are in an abandoned state and they are employed in a completely barbarous manner. Clearly all of this is of little concern to the leadership of the republic agroindustrial complex.

The extremely low level of mechanization in livestock raising, the absence of elementary conveniences, the unsanitary conditions and "ancestral" work methods prevent us from increasing the productivity of the farms, raising the prestige of the livestock raiser and widely attracting the youth. In Kalininskiy Rayon where I happened to be recently, the average age of the milkmaids is approaching retirement age. The situation is no better in certain other rayons. At present, we are setting the task as follows: over the immediate future, on the basis of making maximum use of the existing reserves and capabilities, and by substantially strengthening of the role of the intensive factors, to increase by at least 1.5-2-fold, the per capita production of the main food products, and by 1990 to bring milk production from 560,000 tons to 630,000 tons, and, respectively, from 178,000 tons to 205,000 tons for meat.

The situation is no better in providing the public with fruits and vegetables. We have not drawn serious conclusions from the fact that in December of last year, the CPSU Central Committee gave an unsatisfactory assessment to the work being done by the republic party, soviet and economic bodies to increase the production and improve the supply of fruits, vegetables and potatoes to the public. The volume of their sales through state and cooperative trade satisfies only one-half of the public's demand and only one-quarter in terms of fruits. There is still the discredited practice of meeting the procurement requirements of vegetables exclusively from tomatoes, onions, cucumbers and cabbage. The remaining 30 types of vegetables are responsible for not more than 10

percent. This is clearly an abnormal situation which helps to increase the market prices and causes just dissatisfaction in the public.

The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee has recently specially discussed the supply of fruits, vegetables and potatoes to the population of Yerevan. Unsatisfactory work was recognized on the part of the Gosagroprom, the board of Aykoop [Armenian Cooperative], the Minavtotrans [Ministry of Motor Transport], the Yerevan Party Gorkom, the Executive Committee of the Yerevan City Soviet, the party raykoms and the rayispolkoms of Yerevan and the Ararat Valley.

The Deputy Chairman of the Gosagroprom Sh. Gevorkyan was released from the position he held. In the future, the Central Committee will be most exacting in terms of all levels of leaders when it is a question of providing the public with food products.

The communists and the workers of the agroindustrial complex over the next 2 years should completely solve the problem of supplying the public with fruits and vegetables of a broad assortment and high quality. The stores should provide the customers with potatoes, fruits and vegetables year-round and without interruption.

Naturally, in order to solve this question, we must be seriously concerned with establishing the corresponding capacity for storing the products. Recently, a member of the Politburo and the Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade V.P. Nikonov, drew our attention to the fact that in the republic the situation at nearly completed facilities for storing and processing agricultural products causes the most serious concern. Over the 8 months of the current year, just 20 percent of the fruit and vegetable storage capacity was completed. And the availability of this capacity in our republic is just 37 percent of the norm. Why has there been such a lag? Primarily because nowhere in the nation has there been such a poorly conceived organization of rural construction as in our republic. The previously existing Agrostroy [Agricultural Construction Administration] was only formally involved with rural construction. Almost one-half of its capacity was taken up with projects which had no relation to the agroindustrial complex. As for the rural facilities, over the last 10 years, around 200 million rubles of capital investments was not completed at them. The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan and the Gosstroy must draw lessons from the committed errors and give top priority to rural construction.

In solving the food problem, as before, the role of the private farms of the population, the subsidiary farms of the enterprises and organizations as well as collective orchards and truck farms is underestimated. More than one-half of the rural families keeps no livestock at all. Calculated per family in our republic, on the private subsidiary farms, 2.8-fold less milk and 1.6-fold less meat is produced than the national average. In 1988, in

the republic on the private subsidiary farms there were 39,000 head of cattle less than at the end of the 1930s. In actual terms, the rural inhabitant has been turned from a producer into a consumer.

And how irrationally we behaved, having destroyed a large number of hothouses on the private subsidiary farms instead of skillfully employing these for satisfying the requirements of the public. Finally, we must also settle the question of increasing the sizes of the farmstead plots, bringing these up to standards which make it possible to maintain a strong farm.

Obvious mistakes have been made also in the development of the collective orchard and truck farm raising. Plots have not been provided in the required amount while a significant portion of these was concentrated in unsuitable places and in large concentrations. Elementary conditions for running the farm were not provided. This process, we must say directly, has not been controlled by us. Any references to a lack of land and attempts at justification are invalid. Unfortunately, complete irresponsibility reigns here or, if you wish, a political miscomprehension of the question. This can be seen in the Council of Ministers as well as in many party, soviet and economic bodies.

Recently I happened to visit a number of the republic's agricultural areas. I spoke with many kolkhoz members and specialists and was convinced that our people have confidence in the changes and are ready to make every effort to ensure the accelerated development of agricultural production. But they must have freedom of actions and complete emancipation. Hence, let us create all of the conditions so that they feel themselves to be true masters of the land.

Leasing provides a realistic path to this. No one has the right to refuse people to work under these conditions. At present, the republic kolkhozes and sovkhozes basically employ a collective contract and this is often done formally. The share of leasing is insignificant. But from 1989, all the republic agriculture should convert to full economic accountability and self-financing. The present state of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz economy, and the attitude of the leaders and specialists to the new farming conditions indicate that we are not ready to introduce them. This is a scandalous matter when more than one-half of the farms produces a low profitability or operates at a loss, having become sunk in debt. But the farm leaders are certain that they will be given a hand promptly with any mistakes and failures and will be protected against financial collapse. It is time for us to break this consumer, parasitic psychology. Free subsidies and loans, when they become permanent features, corrupt the economic leaders.

The most direct way out of this situation is the across-the-board introduction of a contract and a lease, changing the internal production relations on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, establishing family farms and developing

various forms of cooperatives, agroindustrial combines and agrofirms. It is essential to move more boldly to eliminate the inefficient farms, and transfer their lands and other means of production to those collective or individual leasers who are capable of farming with a high return.

It is essential to fundamentally alter the approach and provide a range of financial and economic measures which help to increase the efficiency of the entire agroindustrial complex. In the unity of the three main factors—the contract, economic accountability and intensive production methods—we see a basis for our progress forward.

The problems of the further development of agricultural production require a fundamental restructuring in the work of all the ministries and departments of the agroindustrial complex and primarily Gosagroprom. Unfortunately, inherent to it is a sharply expressed command and administrative, Bureaucratic style of management. Last year Gosagroprom sent out to the field 87,000 orders, instructions, recommendations and other documents. The Main Administration of Material and Technical Supply alone each day drew up more than 170 various orders. The workers of the RAPO [rayon agroindustrial association] are literally being drowned by the paper flood. All of this prevents vital organizational work. In this situation it is simply impossible to determine the personal responsibility for the end results.

The Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee should demand that the Central Committee Secretary T. Dilanyan, the First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the Chairman of Gosagroprom, Comrade V. Movsisyan, as well as the party and soviet bodies on the spot self-critically assess the state of agricultural production, increase the responsibility of the personnel and develop a style of economic work and party leadership which would in the immediate future ensure a noticeable improvement in the supply of food products for the population.

I would like to draw attention to one other important question. We will not bring about a change in solving the food question if we are not concerned with the social restructuring of the countryside. One out of every two villages does not have preschool institutions, a bathhouse or dining room. Some 63 percent of these lack a water system and the existing networks are in a neglected state. Virtually all the rural population points are without a sewage system and 70 percent lack a gas system.

We should immediately set to work on the social restructuring of the countryside and we should completely consider the capabilities and particular features of each population point and region. The investment policy must be redirected accordingly.

Comrades! We are concerned by the existing situation also in the supply of housing for the public. How is it possible to tolerate the fact that at present in the republic, one out of every ten families needs better housing conditions, around 3,000 families have been waiting for 15-20 years and over 10,000 families live in decrepit and temporary housing. The housing conditions for people in such areas as Kond and Saritag in Yerevan and certain other places are simply intolerable. This is a shame for us.

The Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee should presently discuss the unconcerned attitude which has existed for many years on the part of the republic party and soviet bodies to the primary needs of the people. A situation has developed in our republic when the annual increase rate of persons waiting on lists has begun to significantly outstrip the increase in the completion of housing. The investments going into housing construction have been planned in small amounts but even with this they have not been carried out. Just during the years of the 10th and 11th Five-Year Plans, the capital investments for housing construction were underutilized by 120 million rubles. The people failed to receive 12,000 apartments. Around 700 apartments were lost in the housing construction cooperatives. And how is it possible to explain to the workers that last year the republic completed housing of 224,000 m<sup>2</sup> or 5,600 apartments less than in 1973? They would certainly suffice, for example, for providing housing to the families living in Kond and in the temporary housing in Yerevan.

The basic reason for such a situation is that the republic has not established an atmosphere of universal concern for improving the housing conditions of the workers.

We should set for ourselves the goal in 1993 of providing housing to persons who were on the list at the beginning of 1987 as well as for those dwelling in decrepit and temporary housing and completely solve the housing problem in the republic in the year 2000. For this we must provide, starting in 1989, for acceleration of 1.5-2-fold in the pace of building housing, quickly establish the required construction capacity and make available for these purposes the full amount of capital investments, material and labor resources. Everywhere wide scope must be given to individual and cooperative construction and all the available reserves and capabilities must be maximally utilized. There should be no restrictions in resolving the housing problem. The party gorkoms and raykoms, the first secretaries personally, the leaders of the soviet and economic bodies, the trade union and Komsomol organizations on the spot should head this work and ensure the unconditional realization of the planned program.

It is very important to introduce strict order on the question of the reporting and allocation of housing. At present, the people have leveled serious and just accusations against the tolerant attitude toward the flagrant

violations committed in the housing legislation, the instances of arbitrariness, extortion and a bureaucratic and heartless attitude toward persons who need better housing conditions. This can no longer be tolerated. The unswerving observance of the housing legislation, social justice and extensive glasnost should become the standard on the question of the registering and allocation of housing.

A special question for us is **providing the population with drinking water**. It can certainly not be considered normal when at present many cities, including Yerevan, Lenakan, Kirovakan, Dilizhan, Ararat and certain other population points, receive drinking water intermittently or by schedule once or twice a day, while more than two-thirds of the villages do not have any water networks at all. In one out of every three letters received by the party Central Committee, dissatisfaction and indignation are expressed over the state of water supply. This can no longer be tolerated. The republic Council of Ministers must quickly work out and implement a range of emergency measures so that over the next 2 or 3 years the drinking water problem can be completely solved. Measures must be taken to repair and rebuild the current water networks, particularly in Yerevan, where water losses due to malfunctions are up to 40 percent. At the same time, we must be seriously concerned with converting the production processes at the industrial enterprises to using industrial water and strictly monitor the observance of limit discipline by them.

Now about the problem of **consumer goods**. It seems that in our republic this is never off the agenda. However, the scale and structure of commodity production do not meet the social requirements. Even worse, this gap year by year increases. As before, a scarcity remains for many types of goods.

Over the last 2 years of the 12th Five-Year Plan, the increase rate for the production of products from the group "B" sectors has lagged behind the increase in the product of the "A" group by 7.8 percent, although the five-year plan envisaged the reverse. In the 2.5 years, the population has failed to receive 200 million rubles worth of goods. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that we are broadening the practice of taking out of production inexpensive items which satisfy the demands of the less well-off strata of the population such as the students, youth, pensioners and families with numerous children. All of this has given rise to new painful areas in the economy and social life. The discrepancy has increased between the income of the workers and the capability of covering this income with goods. The unsatisfied demand is growing and the cash plan is not being met. Wages are not paid on time and inflationary processes are making themselves felt in monetary circulation.

A major and immediate sociopolitical task continues to be a better quality of consumer goods. If the leaders of the republic Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry] approached this from the proper position, then the level

of rejects, for example, in knitwear and garments would scarcely be 3-fold higher than the average for the USSR Minlegprom. We must be seriously concerned with the questions of improving the quality of footwear, particularly that targeted for the mass purchaser. For these products we have a real opportunity to compete on the world market.

The enterprises of the group "A" sectors have not truly turned to producing consumer goods and providing services to the public. The leaders of many of them continued to view this work as a secondary matter while the party and soviet bodies do not always provide a principled assessment for such attitudes. Other enterprises prefer to follow the easier path in making up the planned volumes with very simple articles.

There is no doubt about it, these are needed by the people. And we ship into the republic over 350 types of simple articles from other regions of the nation while their output could be organized on the spot. The production of the simplest items should be the concern basically of the local industry enterprises. At the same time, the scientific-technical and production potential of the "A" sectors must be made maximum use of for increasing the production of technically complicated modern articles. From this viewpoint, the work of our large machine building enterprises and associations does not stand up to criticism. Here an unique situation has come into being with the enterprise leaders listening to the criticism but continuing to operate in the old manner. The time has come, finally, to draw conclusions.

The carrying out of an active social policy is inconceivable without a fundamental improvement in the entire **service sphere**. Precisely here one can see the negative phenomena most clearly. The republic's population has not felt any substantial changes in the activities of trade after its conversion to the new management conditions. The per capita commodity turnover last year was 17 percent less than the national average.

In the sector, the negative phenomena have not been overcome and in the previous years of the 12th Five-Year Plan in many ways they have become even worse. Virtually all the stores do not even provide the minimum assortment of goods and up to 20 different types of constantly missing for sale. In addition to all else, they are distributed unevenly over the regions and the seasonal nature of consumption is not considered. Thus, the people searching for the finer goods are forced to resort to the "services" of speculators. In 1986, the republic population purchased a total of 75 million rubles worth of nonfood commodities on the "black market" alone and the income of the middle men was 15 million rubles from these sales. The share of expenditures for purchasing building materials from private dealers in the family budget of the republic's inhabitants was the highest in

the nation. We consider it essential to seriously warn the leaders of the Mintorg [Ministry of Trade] and Aykoop that the party Central Committee no longer intends to tolerate such a situation.

The greatest lag has developed in our republic for **paid services**, and for almost all the most important types of them. The essence of the problem is not only that the plan quotas have not been fulfilled in the republic. This is a matter of a particular and principled discussion. Here it is much more important to emphasize that with the growing demand of the population, the acuteness of the shortage of services is constantly becoming broader and deeper. The immediate responsibility for this is born by the leaders of the former Ministry of Domestic Services, the other ministries and departments, the enterprises and organizations, the executive committees of the local soviets. They, in essence, have failed in solving a most important socioeconomic problem, that is, the establishing in the republic of a highly developed, widespread and effectively operating service sphere. I feel that comrades will agree with me that such an assessment of the activities of all sectors in the service sphere corresponds to reality. We, in essence, must recreate from scratch the service industry. Even in Yerevan for individual tailoring we lag behind the average Union indicators by almost 2-fold, and in relation to Tbilisi, Riga and Frunze, by 2- or 3-fold. For the repair of furniture the lag is even more impressive: as a whole by 4-fold behind the nation and 5-6-fold behind Minsk, Vilnius and Tallinn. There is an analogous picture for dry cleaning, laundry, as well as the repairs of apartments and household appliances.

It is not surprising that being virtually in a hopeless situation, the public has turned to the "gray economy." In 1987 alone, over 30 million rubles were paid to individuals for providing domestic services and this is 3-fold more than the total of the nonfulfillment of the state plan. The moral harm is undoubtedly immeasurably greater.

I would not feel that all that has been said here is a discovery for the former Minbyt [Ministry of Domestic Services] (minister, Comrade R. Vardanyan), the other ministries and departments, the enterprises and organizations providing services to the public. But let me ask: what specifically has been undertaken to rectify this extremely abnormal situation? Of course, over the last decade the volume of sales of domestic services has doubled and the Minbyt has been constantly awarded the Challenge Red Banners. But what is the benefit from such a development pace if 60 percent in the total volume of services is made up of the mass production of footwear, knitwear and furniture which are the concern of specialized ministries? But those services which actually determine the social well-being of people have increased annually by just 4.5 percent. This gross juggling act is nothing more than real deception.

The newly formed State Committee for Services from the very outset must carry out a fundamentally new policy in satisfying the demand of the public for services, revise the existing forms of their organization and move from the frontal concentration of the service sphere to its decentralization and optimum placement.

We must, finally, **solve the municipal transport problem** which is particularly exacerbated in Yerevan. One cannot help but be indignant over the constant interruptions in the traffic schedules and the long wait for transport at the halts. The executive committee of the Yerevan municipal soviet and the Minavtotrans have shown unimaginable indifference and have even not tried to find joint solutions to the most urgent questions. Presently, municipal transport is developing blindly in isolation from the general plan for the city's development. The pace of building the road network lags sharply behind housing development.

One of the main reasons for the unsatisfactory operation of municipal passenger transport is the insufficiently developed physical plant. Over the last 10 years, not a single bus system has been built. For more than 6 years now, a trolley bus fleet has been under construction for 150 vehicle places and the completion of this project this year may not be met. For 3 years now, a plot has not been provided for building the bus terminus for serving the public of the Norkskiy area and for years they have delayed in opening up trolley bus traffic to the Zvartnots Airport.

One must assume a very responsible approach to solving these questions in order in the near future for the workers to feel positive changes in the operation of municipal transport.

**The questions of improving human health** should be at the center of our attention. Serious problems have accumulated in this sphere year after year.

The Minzdrav [Ministry of Public Health], its collegium and personally the minister, Comrade E. Gabriyelyan, the party and soviet bodies have tolerated the situation which developed here. At present, the availability of hospital beds in the republic per 10,000 of the population is 85.8 beds with a union average indicator of 130.6. In the in-patient facilities they lack 30 percent of the work areas and the supply of the outpatient services and polyclinics is almost 2-fold below the established standard. Around 70 percent of the public health facilities need a major overhaul. The people are profoundly indignant over the low development level of the physical plant for public health, the level of medical services and the inattentive and indifferent attitude toward patients. The metastases of money grubbing have also encompassed the sphere of public health. Treatment today in a hospital means for many a serious testing of the family budget.

There is a criminal and immoral gain from the misfortunes of others. We want least of all to accuse all physicians a predominant majority of whom are honest people dedicated to their job, but such examples, alas, are not isolated.

The incompetence of many personnel, the low level of medical and therapeutic work have led to situations where many patients, having lost any confidence in our medical workers, have been forced to seek aid outside the republic.

Is such a situation tolerable when out of each thousand children, 22 die at an age under 1 year?

We must immediately, without any delay sharply alter the situation and instill proper order in the medical services for the public. The government, the Minzdrav, the party gorkoms and raykoms, the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms in the near future should also bring about a real improvement in public health.

**The ecological situation causes serious concern and alarm** as it exists in the republic and particularly in Yerevan, Kirovakan, Razdana, Alaverdi and Ararat. In 1987, some 246,000 tons of impurities were released into the republic air basin. Three out of every four sources of pollution in industry are not equipped with dust and gas scrubbers. Motor transport has become a major calamity for the city of Yerevan and its share in polluting the air with toxic gases has already exceeded 60 percent.

Pollution in the basins of the Razdan, Pambak, Debed and Vokhchi Rivers continues to remain above the standard. Around 200 tons of common salt alone are released daily into the Razdan River. The extraction and processing of mineral raw materials are carried out irrationally and with great losses as is the utilization of land resources. In the Ararat Valley each year hundreds of thousands of tons of fertile soil are washed away.

In the utilization of natural resources, many persons show purely a consumer psychology. You will agree that all of this is amoral not only in terms of the present generation but also future ones.

Can it be permitted that in the existing situation year after year we do not utilize the already insufficient funds allocated for ecological requirements? As a whole, over the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan, over 14 million rubles of capital investments were not employed in building conservation facilities. As a result of the indifference and criminal negligence, the set dates for constructing facilities for the biological purification of effluents have been exceeded by 3-6-fold, and in many instances the unviability of the completed conservation systems has become immediately apparent.

**We are profoundly concerned by the problem of Lake Sevan.** The decree adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers in 1978 "On

Measures to Strengthen the Conservation of Lake Sevan" and scores of other decrees by the republic government have in fact remained unfulfilled. The development of the coastal zone without treatment facilities, the criminally ineffective utilization of its water resources and much else have caused great harm to the lake's ecological situation.

It is not yet too late to save Sevan. But the irrecoverable could occur tomorrow. Realizing this we should accelerate the completion of the hydroengineering facilities to shift 165 million m<sup>3</sup> of water a year from the Vorotan River as well as build the Oktembryanskiy, Gergerskiy and other reservoirs while simultaneously reconstructing the Razdan Irrigation Network. By so doing we will reduce the water losses from Lake Sevan and raise its level.

The construction of the ring sewage collector around Lake Sevan has been intolerably delayed. It is hard to overestimate the importance of this structure for preventing the further polluting of the lake. The Armenian CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have recently adopted a number of measures to complete the construction of the collector in 1990 and connect all the population points on the coast to it. At the same time, Gosagroprom should revise the scheme for carrying out agricultural production considering the sharp decline in the use of mineral fertilizers and toxic chemicals. A thorough analysis must be made of the discharges of industrial production into the lake. If ways cannot be found to exclude the harmful discharges, we will be forced to ban the functioning of all facilities until the completion of the collector's construction. **The construction of facilities related to the protection of the lake should be declared a shock construction project for all the people of the republic.**

We have a new attitude toward the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant. Let us be frank: it has been the product of a shortsighted technical policy. The Armenian CP Central Committee has raised before the Union bodies the question of taking its power units out of production in order to close down the nuclear plant over the next 3 years. The republic's proposal has been given understanding and support in the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers. There was recently a special commission on this question headed by the Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Comrade B.Ye. Shcherbina, and this included leaders from a number of the Union ministries and departments as well as prominent scientists and specialists.

**The closing down of the AES is a complex and vast task. But we will carry this out completely because this coincides with the aspirations of the people. The Armenian AES will be closed down.**

The question might be asked as to why we are closing down the AES in 3 years. The problem is that at present the AES provides 36 percent of all the electric power

generated in the republic and we must complete four new 300-megawatt power units at the Razdan GRES [state regional power plant] in order to make up for the lost capacity. All measures are already being undertaken to accelerate this work. The construction and completion of the new power units at the Razdan GRES should be a matter of concern for all our people. There are also plans to rebuild the buildings and structures of the AES for a natural gas-fired thermal power plant.

In line with the fact that voices are heard in the republic on the supposed forthcoming development of new nuclear capacity, and their location is even being mentioned, let me state today with all responsibility that nuclear projects will not be built at any point in the republic. I would like particularly to address the collective of the AES. In the time remaining until the closing, it is essential to work even more smoothly, precisely, and with high awareness and responsibility to the people.

In the aims of normalizing the ecological situation, we will more actively employ the energy of small rivers, solar, geothermal and wind energy. It is even more essential to utilize the energy resources with exceptional economy. Scientific-technical and engineer-design thought and the efforts of the economic leaders should be focused on this.

It is our duty to fundamentally alter the attitude toward the environment, to instill in the republic's population high ecological awareness, and decisively thwart instances of an unacceptably indifferent attitude on the part of certain enterprise leaders to violating the ecological standards and rules. In this vitally important area we must not solve the problems by the trial and error method. At present, we must carry out a profoundly scientific, balanced policy on all questions related to ensuring a stable ecological equilibrium and the natural reproduction of all elements in the entire ecosystem.

**The necessity has arisen of working out in our republic a long-range, thoroughly sound conservation program based on the over-all concept of long-term socioeconomic development.** It is essential to involve in this work the gosplan, the State Committee for the Protection of the Environment, the Academy of Sciences, the ministries and departments of the republic and, of course, our community to which I would like to express gratitude for tenacity and activeness in raising questions linked to the improvement of the ecological situation.

#### **A Fundamental Improvement in the Ideological and Moral Situation—A Most Important Task for Ideological Work**

Comrades! In the last decade the republic has surrendered numerous positions not only in socioeconomic development but also in ideology and spiritual life. In the "best" traditions of the period of stagnation, the myth was intensely propagated that there had been a rapid flourishing of the republic, but in reality there had

been deformation and the replacing of moral values and guidelines. The stormy and extended applause drowned out the anxious voice of the workers, the creative and scientific intelligentsia. In such an atmosphere of complacency, when the negative phenomena were not pointed out and particularly were not thwarted, there was a sharp decline in the effectiveness of ideological work and its offensive, attacking essence was emasculated.

The CPSU Central Committee has repeatedly pointed this out. But the serious shortcomings and omissions in ideological work, as pointed out in the decrees of our party's Central Committee of 17 October 1984 and 12 August 1986 were not eliminated. The essence of the first decree came down to the phrase taken out of context that in the republic a healthy moral and political atmosphere had developed. All ideological and political indoctrination was organized around this convenient phrase. But the second document with its frank and acute criticism leveled at the CPA Central Committee remained a secret for the republic communists. The party committees of the various levels adopted decisions and drew up plans of measures to carry out the decree but few were familiar with the content of this.

Ignorance gives rise to blind faith. For this reason for some the valid criticism from the rostrum of the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee came as a bolt out of the blue. This criticism sobered those who had been lulled by the idle talk, by the rippling of the challenge banners and the cheerful reports. The worst fears of the workers were confirmed as the republic languished on the sidelines of restructuring and the vital winds of changes passed it by.

The deformations in the socioeconomic and political spheres left a profound imprint also on the moral appearance of individuals as well as on the moral state of society as a whole. For this reason one of the most important areas of our activity should be an improvement in all spheres of republic life and the purging of them of everything that is alien to the Soviet way of life. For many years, we have gratified our pride by the illusion of a healthy moral and political atmosphere in the republic and while the people saw the breaches appearing in the ozone layer we were almost incapable of protecting our life against all sorts of moral distortions.

Precisely the moral sphere has been one of the most sullied for us. For certain positions of moral development we have not only been unable to retain the won positions but have even slipped back, having provided room for petty bourgeois manifestations. The theft of socialist property, bribery, corruption, the "shadow economy," all permissiveness, speculation, protectionism, deception, padding and violations of the principles of social justice became widespread. All of this methodically undermined the moral underpinnings and had a

pernicious influence on the moral climate in the republic, evoking legitimate indignation from its healthy forces, social apathy, the undermining of the authority of the leading cadres and mistrust in the official word.

"An inevitable consequence of this," commented M.S. Gorbachev, "has been a reduced interest in social affairs, the appearance of indifference and skepticism, and a decline in the role of moral incentives for labor. A stratum of people has developed, including among the youth, for whom the goal of life has been reduced to material prosperity and to gain by any means. There cynical position has assumed evermore militant forms, poisoning the awareness of those around and giving rise to a wave of consumerism." These words by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee cannot more accurately describe the alarming ideological and moral atmosphere which developed in our republic.

Let us look the truth in the eyes. Over the last 10 years, for example, theft of socialist property in the republic has increased by approximately 6-fold. The losses in the national economy have increased by more than 3-fold. The negative phenomena, in giving rise to a chain reaction of indifference, have permeated virtually all the pores of the social organism and gradually spread to all social strata and to all spheres of activity.

The republic workers have encountered unseemly instances of deception, speculation, extortion, coarseness and other negative manifestations at the trade and public dining enterprises, the service sphere, transport, communications, the housing and utility system, public health and education. The several thousand persons employed in these spheres are directly linked to the entire population and to a large degree their work and their moral appearance shape not only the attitude of the people but also as a whole the moral climate in the republic. Certainly only constant attention on the part of the party committees to the social and moral well-being of the workers and their spiritual attitude can produce positive results both on the job as well as in establishing a healthy moral climate in the republic. For precisely this reason moral indoctrination in the labor collectives directly linked with the life and routine of people should be marked by particular exactingness, consistency and depth.

It is impossible to conceive of moral improvement in the republic without confirming the pure and honest image of the party member. In establishing a healthy moral and political atmosphere and in affirming the principles of high morality, of particular importance is the role of the personal example set by the communist and the leader and such qualities as unfailing honesty, principledness and personal humility. Nothing causes such a negative effect or has such a debilitating effect on those around as the permissiveness and unpunished unworthy conduct of a leader.

Also disconcerting is the fact that in the republic for many years there has not been a decline in the number of able-bodied persons not employed in social production. The presence of able-bodied but nonworking persons in our society is not only an unused reserve of economic growth. It has a negative effect and creates an unseemly indoctrinational background and good ground for all sorts of negative manifestations.

All of this should concern each honest citizen of the republic, each communist, each party organization and all of us. We should and we must eradicate these phenomena. This has been repeatedly mentioned from the high rostrums but the state of affairs has steadily deteriorated. It has deteriorated because moral indoctrination has not been backed up by concrete deeds either in the economic sphere, in the social sphere or in ideological work itself.

The enumerated facts would have been impossible had the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the economic leaders, the ideological institutions and administrative bodies shown more principledness and had established an atmosphere of intolerance for any deviations from the principles of our morality, and if they had not been satisfied by half measures and fought not only against individual negative manifestations but the root system nourishing them.

Glasnost is curing and establishes high principles of morality. Our society can purge itself of any manifestations of immorality only by openly condemning them and mentioning the names of the specific agents of evil. For this reason in the work of improving the moral climate we should rely widely on the force of the community and take into account such an important factor as public opinion. The necessity has arisen, comrades, of setting up in the CPA Central Committee a permanent service for studying and forecasting public opinion. It is very important that the results of these studies be widely promulgated and discussed in the collectives and used in practical work, including in resolving cadre questions.

The time has come to return the initial sense to such sacred concepts as duty, responsibility, conscience and orderliness. The time has come to initiate a decisive struggle using all means against those who distort the true, human appearance of socialism and the appearance of our republic. Particularly as the processes of restructuring, democratization and glasnost as well as the implementing of the new socioeconomic policy create the best conditions for conducting effective ideological indoctrination. This, we are confident, will also be aided by the measures outlined by the CPA Central Committee to improve the moral and political climate in the republic and bring it out not only from the socioeconomic but also, let us not be afraid to say, the moral crisis.

It is essential to consider that we have forces against restructuring and they do not like the course commenced by the Central Committee of moral improvement. In

hiding behind noble phrases and playing on the kind feelings of people, they wish to create a split in our ranks, turn the republic into chaos and in every possible way are endeavoring to fan passions and keep people in a state of tension. At meetings in Yerevan statements are often heard which not only are not marked by a feeling for democratic relationships but also contain flagrant attacks and personal insults.

At meetings valid rebukes have at times been voiced over the bad situation existing in the republic. But it is not enough to rebuke or criticize, it is also essential to actually participate in the process of renewal. We extend our hand to all honest people and say to them: comrades, let us act together on a platform of restructuring!

**The CPA Central Committee appeals to all citizens and to all who are actually concerned with the fate of the Armenian people, the fate of the republic, the fate of the nation, to unite their ranks and come together for carrying out the vitally important tasks which acutely confront the republic workers.**

We have been the witnesses of an unprecedented rise in the social activeness of the people. And here it is important to correctly orient and direct this energy into the channel of the essential deeds meeting the true interests of the people.

At present in public groups there has been much interest in a discussion of the question of establishing a society which should aid party renewal and assist in resolving a series of vitally important questions confronting the public workers. The idea of establishing such an association or society undoubtedly merits attention. This could be a voluntary association which on the platform of restructuring, morality and humanism brings together both individual citizens as well as social organizations. Its activities could combine patriotic, cultural, educational and philanthropic goals.

This association would be concerned with studying and popularizing the cultural heritage of the Armenian people both in the republic and beyond, with preserving the monuments of our history, and it would assist in developing various areas of Armenian studies, eliminating the "blank spots" in the history of the people, developing the Armenian language and national-Russian bilingualism as well as solving ecological problems....

Such an association could carry out many useful undertakings! Here there is no end to the work and certainly a consolidation of all healthy forces and active, broad support from the people are indispensable to us.

Comrades! Our times are times of profound sociopolitical changes and an unprecedented development of democracy and glasnost. And these times disclose numerous complicated problems in the sphere of relations between nationalities. These problems have existed

previously but during the years of the cult of personality and stagnation they were in the zone of silence. The problem of Nagornyy Karabakh is one of these.

Yes, this problem did not arise just today and out of a void. Its roots go back in a complex intertwining of historical, social, economic, cultural and ethnic factors and previous distortions of nationality policy. For an extended time in the autonomous oblast they did not solve many important questions involving the national feelings and interests of the Armenian population, particularly in the sphere of culture, education and cadre policy. The constitutional rights of the autonomous oblast were violated. For decades these vital problems built up without gaining not only the required solution but even overt recognition.

Restructuring, democratization and glasnost have disclosed them and made it possible to provide an open analysis and discussion of the sensitive processes and search for ways to resolve the problems. The acute expression of all of this was the events which broke out in February of the current year in Nagornyy Karabakh with mass demonstrations, meetings and strikes in Yerevan and in a number of other cities and rayons of the republic in support of the demands of the Armenian population in Nagornyy Karabakh for the secession of the autonomous oblast from Azerbaijan.

However, the democratic rights and new conditions brought to life by restructuring began to be employed by certain individuals for clearly antidemocratic purposes. Here there were certain actions contrary to the law. All of this for many months paralyzed the republic, shook its economy and caused serious harm to its prestige.

During these difficult days for us, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, turned to the peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia. This appeal was timely and it provided enormous aid to the party organizations of the republic in stabilizing the situation and in escaping from the crisis. All the more as from the very first days of the events in Nagornyy Karabakh and around it, many party committees and organizations played the unenviable role of a outside, passive observer. The experience of the last months convinces us that under the conditions of democracy and glasnost which substantially change the situation, the party, soviet and ideological cadres should be able to act under acute, nonstandard and at times conflict situations and should be able to engage in polemics forthrightly. Many of our cadres, unfortunately, were useless in this extreme situation and became simply lost and abandoned principled positions. And this was at a time when at meetings individual persons, having assumed the right to speak on behalf of the Armenian people, in their statements and demands, trampled on the most cherished feelings of the people, that is, dedication to socialism, fraternal friendship with the great Russian people and the other Soviet peoples.

Did many of our activists, the soviet and economic leaders and ideological workers publically condemn all of this? Who answered these statements, challenges and actions which cast a shadow on the good name of the Armenian people? Unfortunately, not many. I would go farther and say that an insignificant portion of our elected party aktiv was not up to snuff as well as those who out of the duty of a communist and party member should have shown will power and great persuasiveness under these conditions and led the workers.

The question arises of how all of this could have happened? What put the masses of people into motion? What inhibiting mechanism fettered the will power and doomed many party organizations to passivity and idleness?

Certainly, we must still study this in order to draw all the necessary lessons from it. However, the preliminary results can be summed up even now. It must be frankly admitted that the level of political awareness and political culture in a certain portion of the workers and even the communists was, unfortunately, far from on the proper height. And certain representatives of our intelligentsia did not always actively assist the process of normalizing the situation but at times even committed rash acts.

It must be admitted that we have perceived democracy and its first lessons and at present we are perceiving this too unilaterally and superficially, forgetting that democracy offers not only rights but also duties. Duties to the state, to society and to one's people.

The development of a steadfast ideological immunity is one of the main tasks of ideological work. However, in this most important area there are still more than enough unsolved problems. Here there are many factors and primarily an underestimation of a number of factors which shape national character, the social type of personality and which develop in people an activist position in life, a class approach to phenomena and events in social life.

For instance, let us take such an important factor in political awareness as a person's attitude toward labor as the main criterion for the social prestige of an individual. Let us give some thought, comrades, to whether or not we are losing that industriousness which has been developed over the centuries, which has been enriched in our times with a new socialist content and comprises the pride of our people, their age-old aspiration for creativity and creation. Today we are proud of our working class, our peasantry and intelligentsia. But how can we explain, for example, the widespread instances in our republic of the violations of labor and production discipline, the production of poor-quality products and shoddy workmanship?

And strikes? At times, the appeal for these has come from the mouths of young persons who have never worked and do not actually know what real labor is. What is particularly saddening is that their irresponsible appeals are often followed even by our labor veterans, by dignified and famous persons. They, incidentally, in working on Saturdays and Sundays and overtime, are endeavoring to now make up for what was missed and replenish the losses. And these losses will be replaced without fail but the moral harm from the strikes will still pursue us for a long time to come.

The events in Nagorny Karabakh and around it have led to the exacerbation of relations between nationalities and have given rise to mistrust between the Armenian and Azerbaijan population and have become the reason for people to leave their residences and move outside Armenia and Azerbaijan.

After the tragic events in Sumgait, thousands of Armenians, having abandoned their homes, moved into our republic. We did great work to house them, to find jobs for them and to create normal conditions for life. All of us, the republic inhabitants, must surround them with constant concern and attention in the labor collectives, at the place of work and study. At the same time, thousands of persons of Azerbaijan nationality left Armenia for other regions of the nation.

In the existing situation it is our duty to take immediate measures to halt the migration processes which have a destabilizing effect on the situation in the region and to show maximum attention and concern for the fate of each family and each republic citizen, regardless of his nationality.

We are confronted with major and responsible tasks in carrying out the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on Nagorny Karabakh. These decrees are permeated with sincere concern to restore stability in the region, to strengthen true friendship between the Armenian and Azerbaijan peoples. The fundamental ideas of these documents provide a dependable key for resolving the problems of the NKAO [Nagorny Karabakh Autonomous Oblast].

As you know, Comrade A.I. Volskiy, a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Head of the section of the CPSU Central Committee has been sent to Nagorny Karabakh with broad powers to organize and coordinate the work of the party, soviet and economic bodies of Armenia, Azerbaijan and the NKAO in carrying out the decisions of the directive bodies.

A special commission from the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet has been assigned to study and as they are ready to submit proposals related to the problems of the NKAO for review by the Presidium.

The problems of Nagorny Karabakh continue to be at the center of attention of the Union bodies. Broad opportunities are opening up for us to develop all-round ties with the NKAO and provide it with socioeconomic, scientific-technical and cultural aid.

The first results of this work are already at hand. As you know, since the month of May the city of Stepanakert and certain rayons in the autonomous oblast have been receiving the Armenian television program. Work is continuing to broaden the reception area of our television broadcasting. In this academic year, the republic VUZes have opened their doors to 272 graduates of Nagorny Karabakh. Textbooks in Armenian have been sent to the schools of Nagorny Karabakh. In the design institutes of Yerevan work has started on designing a number of important social and cultural projects. Many republic organizations have assumed additional obligations to deliver to Nagorny Karabakh advanced equipment and production methods, to organize industrial cooperatives in various areas and to provide extra products.

Recently in Stepanakert with the participation of the representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the first secretaries of the central committees of the Azerbaijan and Armenian communist parties and the first secretary of the Nagorny Karabakh party obkom, a broad range of questions was reviewed related to implementing the decrees of the directive bodies on Nagorny Karabakh.

The republic Council of Ministers has adopted measures to work out design and estimate specifications for building a palace of culture, a pioneer club and a municipal library in Stepanakert. The construction of these projects will be carried out by contracting organizations in Armenia.

The appropriate Union ministries have been instructed to approve the technical and economic studies to build reservoirs on the Badarchay and Karkarchay Rivers as well as complete the construction of the first stage of the Karabakh Group Water Line in 1989 as well as settle the questions related to designing and building a new modern airport in the autonomous oblast.

Before 1 October 1988, a schedule will be approved for the major overhaul, reconstruction and construction of the motor road between Stepanakert—Lachin—Goris with the completion of the work in 1990, while the USSR Mintransstroy [Ministry of Transport Construction] in 1988 will complete the design studies for building the section of the road around the town of Lachin.

For carrying out these and a number of other projects, the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gosstab [State Supply Committee] have provided the required number of bulldozers, pipelayers, tower cranes, graders, buses, trucks and other construction vehicles and equipment.

An extensive program has also been outlined for developing cultural ties between Armenia and the NKAO. The duty of our labor collectives, creative unions and cultural institutions is to take an active part in this noble undertaking and contribute to implementing the designated programs.

Comrades! At present, our prime task is to strengthen the patriotic and international indoctrination of the workers.

Nothing but respect can be evoked by the desire of a man to worthily represent his people and his nationality. But we should realize that the feeling of a unified family is the basis of our life in the common home of the USSR.

The Armenian people are proud that they belong to the family of equal Soviet peoples and are profoundly aware that all our successes and accomplishments in the economy and culture are due not only to our own industry and talent but also to an enormous degree to the fraternity with the great Russian people and the other peoples of the Soviet multinational state. Our duty is to protect this fraternity like the apple of our eye as this is the guarantee for further progress and flourishing of our people.

The culture of the international contacts of our people is concrete manifested in their daily relations with the Russians, Ukrainians, Azerbaijani, Georgians, Kurds, Jews, Greeks, Syrians and the representatives of other peoples living in Soviet Armenia. Although we have definite experience in working with the national minorities inhabiting the republic and satisfying their spiritual and other needs, we must not close our eyes to the omissions and shortcomings existing in this area.

In internationality relations there are and cannot be any minor details. Here everything is essential, for the delayed or incomplete solving of sociocultural and even everyday routine questions has a negative impact on the social attitudes of people and creates a psychological discomfort and a feeling of national belittlement. For precisely this reason all these questions should constantly be at the center of our attention.

True friendship arises out of knowledge. For this reason it is hard to imagine real internationalism without the active and creative assimilation of the cultural values and achievements of the fraternal Soviet peoples. The role of cultural ties is inestimable not only in broadening the cultural horizon of the individual man but also nationality culture as a whole. Contacts between national cultures contribute to their mutual enrichment. In this sense an important role is played by familiarity with the literature of other peoples. We are doing definite work in this area. Thus, in recent years we have published in Armenia 245 titles of books by Russian authors and writers of the other fraternal republics with a total publishing run of 4.5 million copies.

Here the main thing is a more careful and more competent approach to selecting the works, the greatest possible improvement in the quality of translation and the level of printing of the translated books.

At present, we must admit that over the decades we have made completely unsatisfactory use of such a major channel for becoming acquainted with the life and culture of the fraternal peoples as the sending of talented youth to study in the VUZes of the nation as well as the military schools.

Many bright representatives of our scientific and creative intelligentsia at one time received their education in Moscow and Leningrad, their ideology and talents were shaped in the conducive atmosphere of the major centers of Soviet science and culture. At the same time, we not only are not developing these good traditions but have gradually lost them. Year after year we have not even fulfilled the meager plan for specific noncompetitive admission to the nation's VUZes and over the last 20 years we have lost hundreds of places.

We are gradually losing contact with our compatriots who are prominent scientists and leaders of culture and art residing in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities and regions of our country. Many of them long for the land of their ancestors, they feel its joys and sorrows, and they sincerely wish to make their contribution to the development of the economy, culture and spiritual life of Soviet Armenia. We must grant them this opportunity without fail. Certainly, our compatriots can take a most active part, for example, in training personnel for the republic, in propagandizing and popularizing Armenian literature and culture. It would be possible to organize more frequently tours in the republic for our compatriots who are well known masters of art, to invite scientists to give lectures in the VUZes and before other audiences, film and theater directors for organizing performances as well as open up one-man shows of artists. Greater initiative should be shown in this area by the Armenian Ministry of Culture and our representatives in Moscow. The reviving of these ties could not only help to enrich our spiritual life but also the international indoctrinating of the youth.

**Language is the soul of a people, their priceless spiritual wealth and their culture. For this reason a careful attitude toward the mother language and its wide use in all spheres of life are our most important task.** It is completely unacceptable when certain leaders by their rash decisions and actions at times artificially narrow the area of use of Armenia which is constitutionally established as the state language in Armenia. We must strengthen the prestige of Armenia and create all conditions for its development and enrichment.

The organization of teaching Armenian in the non-Armenian schools as well as in the VUZes requires a fundamental revising. We should see to it that each school graduate has mastered the mother language. This

is a question of political importance. It is essential to encourage and abet in every possible way the studying of Armenian by citizens of other nationalities living in the republic.

On the philology faculties of our VUZes it would be possible to introduce a course of Western Armenian and increase the number of schools teaching in Armenian. We need new general and special dictionaries as well as better books for self-instruction and conversation.

In a word, we should remember that a knowledge of the mother language is an indispensable condition for the spiritual life and intelligence of a man.

The Armenian Council of Ministers and possibly also the Central Committee Bureau, must make a special review and resolve the questions related to the better functioning of Armenian in the republic and the improving of conditions for its instruction in the schools and other institutions of learning.

At the same time, we should always remember how great is the importance is Russian as a means of international communication and through which the Armenian and other peoples gain access to the treasurehouse of Russian and world culture. We have done a good deal to improve the instruction of Russian. The number of national schools is increasing with a thorough study of Russian, and progressive methods of teaching it are being introduced. However, the results of this work are still low. A portion of the graduates, particularly in rural localities, has a poor knowledge of Russian. It cannot be considered normal that around 10 percent of the Russian-language teachers in the republic does not have a higher education. The CPA Central Committee, the Republic Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Public Education should pay more attention to all these questions.

There is an enormous cognitive and indoctrinational potential in the rich cultural heritage of the Armenian people preserving the memory of their historical fate. All the finest that was created by the talent of the Armenian people and that has come down to us from the centuries should be made by us the property of the people and preserved as something sacred for our offspring. For we, contemporary men, are responsible for the past to the future. On this level we must initiate great, complex and painstaking work, including here a scientific inventorying of the cultural monuments, their restoration, the improving of museums, the more rational and effective placement of our museums and repositories, the publishing of literary monuments, the organizing of their translation into the languages of the Soviet peoples and foreign countries.

It must be pointed out that we at times have taken a rather negligent attitude toward our cultural heritage as can be seen, for example, from the lamentable fate of two such unrealized publications. It is a question, first of all,

of the Compendium of Historical and Cultural Monuments of Armenia and the decision to publish this was taken by the republic Council of Ministers in 1969, however such an important undertaking was left to itself and in essence collapsed. Up to the present, not a single volume has been prepared while over the same time Belorussia has published seven volumes of an analogous publication. The same plight has befallen the six-volume "Istoriya gorodov i sel Armyanskoy SSR" [History of the Cities and Villages of Armenia].

We must hold dear each page of our history. For this is our history and we cannot escape it. We must know the entire truth about the distant and not distant past no matter how bitter this might be. In this context, I would like to mention our moral and civil duty of returning to the people the good names of those who were unjustly repressed in the republic during the years of the cult of personality. For this purpose the Bureau of the CPA Central Committee has recently set up a special commission which is being headed by the first secretary of the Central Committee. The cases of the communists will be examined in the aim of restoring the illegally repressed to the party. We should carry out this matter in such a way that no name and no tragic fate remain forgotten and so that the life and deeds of each of them gain a correct and just assessment. We should pay a tribute of profound respect to the victims of illegality and to all of those who fought heroically for establishing Soviet power in Armenia and laid the first stones in the foundation of socialism. Although present-day Armenia is the best monument to them, it is our human duty to perpetuate their names, having erected in Yerevan a monument to these victims. Nevertheless, many of them do not even have graves.

I feel that such an initiative would be supported by the workers and by the entire republic community. The restoring of historical justice in terms of thousands of innocent victims undoubtedly will be of great purgative force and of indoctrinational significance and will serve to establish the high moral principles inherent to our social system.

At present, when our people are straightening their shoulders, it is essential to commence work on recovering the works of national literature and art which were sentenced during the bad times to obscurity. Possibly in this context we must establish a commission made up of representatives of the creative unions and scientific institutions and which would be concerned with this problem and make the appropriate proposals.

We have much to do in restoring the gaps in the historical memory of the people, in providing a Marxist evaluation of a number of social and cultural figures in the past who in a changing, complex sociopolitical situation and under the difficult conditions of the struggle of the Armenian people for social and national liberation remained prisoner of an incorrect perception of objective historical processes. Due to this certain of them in

individual periods of their life joined various political parties and currents. In particular, the ideological and artistic content of the works of certain writers, in possessing a common human calling, often did not fit in the procrustean bed of their party passions. It is our duty to separate the wheat from the chaff and to make available to the people all the finest, the advanced and healthy which is found in their creativity. We must take precisely this heritage. Here there must be a creative approach to publishing the works of these readers, accompanying them by an introductory article written from clear Marxist, class positions as well as the required commentaries and scientific references.

The workers of our republic each year celebrate 24 April as a day of grief. The time has clearly come to examine the question of officially declaring in the republic 24 April as the Day of Commemorating the Victims of the 1914 Genocide.

The more than 2 million of our compatriots who by the fate of historical destiny have ended up abroad live today in many nations of the world in overseas Armenian communities. This is the "spurk" or Armenian diaspora and is a bitter heritage of the genocide.

A predominant portion of the overseas Armenians are sympathetic with our socialist country, they consider Soviet Armenia as their homeland and many of them possess definite authority in the social and political spheres of their countries of residence. The overseas Armenian communities publish newspapers and magazines, they print books and there is a developed cultural life.

The progressive overseas Armenian literature and art and the Western Armenian language are an inseparable component part of our general culture and spiritual life. For this reason it is essential to show constant concern for them and to more widely publish the better works of the progressive overseas Armenian poets, prose writers and representatives of other areas of culture. Aside from all else this will contribute to the reciprocal enrichment of the Eastern and Western Armenian languages.

The time has come to prepare and publish a biobibliographic reference "Deyateli literatury i kul'tury spyurka" [Figures of the Literature and Culture of the Spurk]. It is essential to improve the work of training and retraining the pedagogical personnel and improve the textbooks and teaching aids for the Armenian schools of the diaspora. We should broaden contacts with the overseas Armenian newspapers and journals of the progressive school and increase the amount of materials sent through the channels of Armenpress [Armenian Press Agency], APN [Novosti Press Agency] and the Committee for Cultural Ties With Armenians Abroad. The life of the overseas Armenian colonies must be presented more fully in all its diversity and contradictoriness on the pages of the republic press.

The journal *Vozrozhdannaya Armeniya* [Reborn Armenia] will undoubtedly help to strengthen these ties and this will appear from the start of next year in Armenian, Russian, English, French, German and Spanish. Incidentally, we must point out the completely bad organization of the overseas distribution of periodicals of the Committee on the Spurk, the republic newspapers and journals which could inform our compatriots of modern Soviet Armenia. Generally speaking, we must significantly revitalize the motherland—spurk relationships and give them a specific content. Why, for example, do we not invite regularly to Soviet Armenia prominent progressive leaders in science, medicine and culture from the diaspora to exchange experience, give lectures in the VUZes, provide film and theatrical performances, translate into Armenian the best examples of foreign Armenian studies, scientific and artistic literature?

Restructuring opens up extensive opportunities to also strengthen economic ties with the Armenian diaspora and to establish mixed enterprises and cooperatives.

In light of what has been said, the activities of the Committee on Cultural Ties With Armenians Abroad do not seem sufficiently effective to us. The Committee must show more creative initiative, energy and constructiveness in the noble undertaking of strengthening ties with compatriots. It would be advisable to involve in this undertaking the republic MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], the AOKS [Armenian Association for Cultural Ties] and our other state and social organizations.

A study of the questions of the history and modern state of the overseas Armenian communities is currently an important task for Soviet Armenian studies both in scientific as well as political terms. In this context, attention should be paid to the proposal of the Yerevan State University for setting up an Institute for Armenian Studies Research and this, in pooling the efforts with the corresponding section of the Academy of Sciences, would within the broad context of Armenian studies problems, be concerned with the problems of the Armenian diaspora.

In recent years the problems related to the repatriation of Armenians from overseas countries as well as to the growth of the inclination to immigrate have not been resolved. These are complicated problems. But they require an immediate solution. We feel that it is essential to fundamentally restructure work in the area of organizing repatriation and overcoming the desire to immigrate.

It is a question of strengthening the concern and attention to the new citizens of our country, more fully satisfying their sociodomic and other requirements, improving ideological indoctrination and explanatory work and resolving a number of other questions.

Concern for the repatriated persons, their needs and requirements should be constantly at the center of attention of the party gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, the executive committees of the local soviets, the Komsomol and trade union organizations, as well as the Committee for the Welcoming and Placement of Armenians Returning From Abroad.

Restructuring has led to the rethinking of our relations with the church. The Soviet state under the conditions of democratization is working for a unity of all the people, believers and nonbelievers, for a further strengthening of our society. This is why we must correctly assess the place and role of Echmiadzin peacemaking activities, in strengthening the friendship of the Soviet peoples, in developing the ties of Soviet Armenia with the diaspora as well as consolidating the Armenian communities on a truly patriotic basis. Obviously thought must be given to the forms of collaboration with the Armenian Church on a number of questions of the moral renewal of society as well as the spiritual and cultural life of the republic.

**Comrades! How the Armenian people will enter the 21st Century depends upon the present spiritual level, the awareness and culture of our children.** And if we today, in reforming education, overlook something essential, it will be difficult to correct this tomorrow.

The February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out that our society needs a citizen who is educated, convinced, loyal to socialism and at the same time, active and able to live and work under the conditions of democracy. How will our republic carry out this very important and very responsible task, how will we indoctrinate such a citizen in the schools, technical schools, VUZes and in the vocational-technical education system?

Here there is an entire set of problems awaiting their solution. First among them is the quality of knowledge. This year, for example, in our republic one out of every three medal winner could not pass the exams to the VUZ. And no one, from the school principal to the minister, bears responsibility for such a state of affairs.

It is impossible to tolerate such a situation, when on-the-job training is provided for only one out of every five school children, and for every training job there are 2-fold more students than as an average in the Union. The local soviets and many economic leaders have actually removed themselves from this important matter.

The school plays the leading role in the military patriotic indoctrination of the younger generation. The Armenian people have always shown a feeling of profoundest respect for the Soviet Army, themselves demonstrating the valorous examples of military service. We are obliged to preserve and add to these traditions and prepare our youth for worthy service in the ranks of the Armed Forces.

Many important problems have built up in the area of training specialists with a higher and secondary education. The impression is gained that we have absolutely no knowledge of how many specialists we require. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, some 9,000 VUZ graduates were not provided with a specific appointment and this was approximately equal to the annual admission of students. Many sectorial ministries and departments, associations and enterprises approach the training of specialists not as interested partners of the schools but as negligent, indifferent consumers.

There are also substantial shortcomings in the teaching of social science disciplines and this leads to major problems in the political indoctrination of the youth, to ideological looseness and civil immaturity. The VUZ graduate student training functions extremely inefficiently and the indicators of its work have declined year by year. Over the last 6 years, of the 118 graduate students in social sciences, just 7 finished their dissertations on time.

Little work is being done to create monographic research devoted to the most important periods in the life of the Armenian people and to working out modern problems. For example, we have been unable to carry out the project of creating the general work "Istoriya narodov Zakavkazya s drevneyshikh vremen do nashikh dnei" [The History of the Transcaucasus Peoples From Ancient Times to Our Days]. Certainly it was to show the complex processes of the formation of nations and nationalities and from class positions disclose the commonness in the historic fates of the region's peoples.

The mechanism of administrative inhibition which prevailed during the years of stagnation and the gap between word and deed had their destructive effect also on culture, a particularly vulnerable and delicate sphere of human activity. During the years of stagnation, the civil focus was noticeably weakened in Armenian literature, theater and film, and modern life with its complex social and moral problems was not depicted with sufficient profundity. We feel that this is one of the reasons that in the all-Union artistic process, modern Armenian literature and certain types of national art are represented very meagerly.

Undoubtedly, creativity is of an individual nature, it is a strictly individual undertaking, where the main thing is the ideology and talent of the artist. However, an important role is also played here by other factors, and not last of which is the atmosphere prevailing in the creative union. But we are forced to admit that in certain unions, a bad situation has come into being, cliques have flourished and a profound and involved discussion of the artistic process has at times been replaced by subjective criticism or unrestrained compliments. We, certainly, do not intend to assess the work of the unions merely by the number of plenums or meetings held, but it is impossible

to imagine their full life without creative discussions, a regular collective discussion of perplexing problems as well as the effective and precise functioning of elective bodies.

We, certainly, are pleased by the increased sociopolitical activeness of the creative workers and an unconditionally honest desire to have their say on all urgent problems and all sensitive points of our life. But at times the impression is created that certain of our creative workers, in criticizing others, in making proposals and in setting tasks for the party and soviet bodies, somehow forget their own role and responsibility in carrying out the tasks confronting us.

We must work out an integrated cultural view which would make it possible to bring the spiritual sphere out of stagnation. But we will be able to carry out such an important task for ourselves only with the most immediate—and not in words but in deed—participation of the writers and artists, composers, cinematographers and architects, journalists and theater workers as well as all representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia.

The Armenian intelligentsia has always been marked by civil involvement, a breadth of thought, true patriotism, a desire to understand the aspirations of other peoples, love of freedom and humanism. These noble qualities which go deep into our history at present are taking on a new sense and assuming a new ring. To whom much has been given, from him much is demanded. The high social recognition given to the intelligentsia places many obligations on it.

Even during the worst time of stagnation, when shortcomings were concealed and errors were bathed in a rosy light, the honest literary and artistic workers, the artists with unsullied conscience did not bend under the administrative-command pressure but, on the contrary, they raised a voice of protest and through their works strengthened the confidence of the Armenian people in the high humanistic ideals of socialism, in the ideals of good and the beautiful.

On behalf of the Central Committee Plenum, I would like to urge the scientific and cultural leaders to take an active part in renewing spiritual and social life. Before our very eyes is the living example of how at present the best representatives of the Russian intelligentsia are boldly raising the layers of past and current history, and are forcefully helping the party in restructuring the largely obsolete economic and cultural system.

We are obliged to bring to the forefront of the struggle for renewal the flower of our nation, the scientific, technical and creative intelligentsia. True talent is fearless, it is focused on the truth and it works for the good of society.

And we are confident that the intelligentsia of Soviet Armenia will be in the front ranks of the fighters for restructuring, renewal and the improvement in the republic's moral climate.

In carrying out the tasks being discussed at the current plenum of bringing the republic to the highway of restructuring and strengthening the struggle against negative phenomena and all that impedes an improvement in the ideological and moral climate, an important role is assigned to the mass information media.

Recently, definite shifts are noticeable in their activities. The range of problems being discussed in the press, on television and the radio has broadened. However, it would be premature to say that our journalism has reformed. Many pertinent and timely subjects are still raised timidly. The necessary initiative is not being shown, and the sprouts of the new and the advanced experience of restructuring are not shown with sufficient persuasiveness. The press lacks purposefulness in its work, a depth of analysis and constructiveness in the articles, boldness in criticizing negative phenomena and the shadowy aspects of our life. This applies also to the city and rayon newspapers the professional level of which with rare exceptions continues to remain low.

It is important to make full use of the great opportunities of the mass information media as a reliable tool of glasnost. Why, for example, not make it a practice of having direct broadcasts from the sessions of a people's control committee, the collegium of the republic Supreme Court and sessions of the ispolkoms of the rayon and municipal soviets where questions of important sociopolitical significance are being discussed.

The press should broadly support the initiatives of the Central Committee, its policy of improving the ideological and moral sphere and ensuring a socioeconomic rise in the republic. In a word, it should become a dependable assistant of the republic party organization in carrying out all our program tasks. This way and only this way will we be able to reach a new quality in the party press and a new quality in its political and organizing role.

#### **To Carry Out a Decisive Change in Ensuring Steady Economic Development**

Comrades! The 19th All-Union Party Conference particularly focused attention on the problems of revolutionary renewal in a decisive sphere of life, the **economy**.

For a long time, we have created the appearance of economic progress against a background of deepening disproportions, while at the same time problems were accumulating in the national economy more rapidly than they were being solved. Moreover, while as a whole for the nation during the last 3 years a process has started of economic improvement, in our republic the negative trends have become further exacerbated. The average

annual increase rate in national income and social labor productivity during the current five-year plan, in comparison with the previous one, declined, respectively, by 2.4- and 2.1-fold. Just in the last 2 years, the capital intensiveness of national income has increased by 7.7 percent and the material intensiveness of social product by 1.7 percent. For many indicators the plans of the current five-year plan are not being met in industry, capital construction, agriculture and other national economic sectors. Of the 65 most important types of industrial product, the five-year plan has not been fulfilled for almost one out of two. This could not help but be reflected in contractual deliveries. At present, the republic holds last place in the nation for this most important indicator.

We did not get into such a situation accidentally. In our republic, the idea was frequently stated that in comparison with the average Union indicators, the republic had provided high increase rates for social product, national income and the production volumes of the leading economic sectors. However, the question was not asked of how these more rapid rates had been achieved and with what means. They were achieved by a frontal strengthening of the expenditure nature of economic development and by reducing the efficiency of all social production.

Over the last 10 years, the inventories of commodities and materials in the republic economy have increased by almost 1.3-fold faster than the produced national income. The capital intensiveness of the end product has increased substantially. Not enough attention has been paid to the intensive growth factors the real share of which in the average annual increase of national income has not exceeded 20 percent.

Such a policy has led to a warping of the goals and tasks of economic development and to the forming of an imbalance between the material and nonmaterial spheres, basic production and its infrastructure, the production of material and raw product resources and their processing, between the development levels of the individual economic and administrative regions.

Regardless of the certain progressive shifts occurring in the structure of industry, its leading sectors have ended up in a severe dilemma. A paradoxical situation has arisen. Year after year there is an increase in the share of machine building in the republic's industry. This sector determines the nature of the economic specialization of modern Armenia. All the programs and specific tasks over the long run in one way or another are linked to its further development. At the same time, this sector, as no other, has built up such unresolved problems and the phenomena of stagnation have become so deep that the machine building complex, in essence, has become a bottleneck in the development of the entire republic economy.

Departmental separation, the low share of end product, the broad product line and the almost complete absence of intersectorial (and even intrasectorial) specialization and subcontracting substantially restrained the sector's development. Its large enterprises were not turned into the standard setters in the specific areas of scientific and technical progress and they made inefficient use of the available intellectual potential for these purposes. The level of product renewal at the enterprises of this sector in 1987 was only 5.7 percent. More than 26 percent of the produced products was developed over 10 years ago.

Our machine tool building is particularly far behind. The volume of export deliveries, for example, has still not reached the level at the end of the 1970s. In 1987, the republic manufactured 10,290 machine tools, including only 664, or 6.5 percent, with numerical program control and they, in turn, are far from the today of machine building.

**The problem of product quality** remains the greatest bottleneck at present. Over the last 2 years, the annual losses from rejected products in industry have been 27 percent greater than as an average for the years of the 11th Five-Year Plan. We continue to receive complaints and claims from all ends of the nation. At present, we are substantially behind not only the world standards but also the average Union level for the quality of many types of articles, particularly machine building and light industry the share of which comprises over 58 percent of the total product.

There is the legitimate question of why in recent years have the quality indicators declined in industrial operations. The answer is the standard one. We have been unable to base practical work on an introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, to rethink the problems of technical reequipping, reconstruction and resource saving, and we have actually been unprepared for the extensive use of intensive development factors. At present, around two-thirds of the volume of production capital investment goes to broaden production. Such a policy could not help but lead to the accumulation of old capital and to a deterioration in the technical state of production. With the current pace and proportions for the complete replacement of the existing productive capital, more than 40 years would be required. At the same time, over the last 2 years, capital investments for technical reequipping were only 70 percent used. At the beginning of 1988, just at the machine building enterprises, there was over 18 million rubles worth of uninstalled equipment, including around 6 million rubles of imported equipment. Clearly with such an approach we cannot carry out the congress demand of a cardinal acceleration in scientific and technical progress.

**Our science** should make a decisive contribution in realizing this progress. However, the forces of our existing 230 scientific research institutions, independent laboratories and computer centers are not focused on effectively solving the key development problems. The plans

for introducing scientific and technical achievements are chronically unfulfilled and the share of manual labor is rising. Just in 1985-1987, the annual economic effect from introducing new equipment declined by 13 million rubles, while expenditures on these purposes increased by 238 million rubles. Is it really acceptable that it takes almost 10 years from the birth of an idea to its materialization and already obsolete articles are put into production. Such a low return is largely the result of the lack in the republic of a clear system for managing scientific and technical progress. This is manifested in the broken tie between science and the development of the national economy, by the departmental separatism of the individual scientific areas and by the insufficient scientific experimental facilities.

Here I would particularly like to emphasize that the Academy of Sciences in essence has not become a true generator of scientifically sound ideas and programs for the future development of the republic. Incidentally, the very attitude toward science requires a fundamental revision. It is unforgivable that in 1987, expenditures on science from the state budget were just a half a percent of national income in comparison with 1 percent in 1970.

The Armenian CP Central Committee and the Republic Council of Ministers primarily bear direct responsibility for the situation which has arisen in the economy. In giving chief attention to routine questions, they were unable to realistically assess the negative trends in the economy, to work out a clear strategy and tactics for surmounting these and create the necessary conditions for efficient management.

We must also point to the essential shortcomings and oversights in the work of the republic Council of Ministers. The government has not achieved a comprehensive solution to the economic and social tasks, and poorly directs the activities of the ministries and departments, the enterprises and associations at solving these. The Council of Ministers (Comrade F. Sarkisyan) lacks the demandingness in work and consistency in overcoming the existing problems. The government must decisively abandon the obsolete forms and methods of work, and achieve coordinated management of the national economic complex. It is time to soberly assess the reality of today, and to switch to practical actions, as the tenets of the party demand and as the people expect. This is also criticism of myself, as for the last 2 years I worked on the Council of Ministers.

We must increase the authority of the Council of Ministers and the prestige of its co-workers, we must free the government from petty interference and broaden its powers in carrying out economic and social tasks and in managing the republic economy.

**The existing situation dictates the necessity of revising our positions in selecting priorities, structural and investment policy, and ensuring effective specialization and integrated use of our resource potential. There is a task of**

increasing the over-all level of the efficient use of all production resources by 2- or 3-fold. In actual terms, we must carry out a revolutionary intensification of the economy. For this we must put into action not only the internal production reserves but also overcome the existing disproportions and substantially improve the balanced development of the entire national economy.

In considering the exceptional importance of the problem, it is essential to **work out and integrated comprehensive program "efficiency-2000" and put at its basis a plan for the republic's socioeconomic development over the long run.** This should include the most important aspects of intensifying the economy on the sectorial and territorial levels.

In our republic the structural policy must be carried on the basis of its main economic advantage, the presence of a mature scientific-technical and intellectual potential. In starting precisely from this initial position, we must establish our priorities in developing the sectors and production lines ensuring a science-intensive and intellectual-industrial content for economic growth. For this purpose we must shift the center of gravity to more modern structure-forming factors. I have in mind primarily the industrial assimilation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in such promising areas as radio electronics, control and communications systems and facilities, computer and laser equipment, optical electronics, modern instrument building, biotechnology as well as the development of a broad range of consumer goods based on them.

Among the key tasks of the structural reform is to promote to the priority group the development of production involving the waste-free and multipurpose utilization of mineral and raw material resources, ore and inert materials. This applies primarily to the development and introduction of fundamentally new methods of extracting, processing and completely refining the main natural wealth of the republic, stone, inert materials and metal ores. This also applies to organizing the production of special-ordered machines and equipment designed for the integrated utilization of our own raw material resources and improving the ecological situation in the republic. Structural policy should be coordinated not only with specialization in new and current science-intensive types of production but also to the improvement of already formed sectors and, what is particularly essential, to the gradual curtailment of inefficient, ecologically harmful and unpromising types of production.

The choice of a progressive sectorial structure based upon the rational utilization of all resources without exception—this is the way to ensure the efficient functioning of the republic economy over the long run.

It is essential to form an integrated regional mechanism for managing scientific and technical progress on the

basis of specific-program methods and new organizational structures. A major lever in carrying out this task is the converting of the scientific research and design organizations to full cost accounting and self-financing.

The Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences and the Commission of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers on Scientific and Technical Progress should review their work in such a manner that the new forms and mechanisms of management and all the republic's intellectual potential contribute to the formation and active carrying out of a regional policy for scientific and technical progress.

In order to ensure steady development of the republic economy, it is essential on all levels to alter the attitude toward **capital construction**. In our republic we chronically do not utilize the limits of capital investments and construction installation work, and the plan quotas are not met for completing the fixed capital. During the years of the 10th and 11th Five-Year Plan, for example, the shortfall was around 440 million rubles of capital investments. Each year the plans for completing industrial and agricultural capacity, housing and other social, domestic and communal projects were fulfilled on a level of 75-80 percent. The volume of incomplete construction has not dropped, and labor productivity is rising extremely slowly, while the achievements of scientific and technical progress, new modern technologies, elements and design ideas are being poorly introduced. The quality of construction causes particular concern.

The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the Gosstroy, the ministries and departments for many years have not paid proper attention to developing the physical plant for capital construction or to increasing the organizational level of construction work and designing and estimating. There is a lack of control over the effective use of the building materials, equipment and transport, over the completion of the schedules for construction and installation work and the putting of projects into operation. In carrying out the capital construction plans, the role and responsibility of the clients are low.

Particular attention must be paid to the reconstruction and technical reequipping of the construction industry enterprises and the building materials industry. Here around 70 percent of the equipment is worn out and obsolete and methods are on a level of the 1950s. Year after year we do not use the already insignificant capital investments for developing the physical plant of construction. The demand for reinforced concrete elements, concrete and mortar, carpentry, sanitary-technical and other articles are only satisfied by 50-60 percent.

No matter how strange it may seem, at present the construction workers lack even stone. During the period that Comrade L. Kazaryan held the position of minister of the building materials industry, stone production in 1987, in comparison with 1978, declined by 100,000 m<sup>3</sup>. During the designated time the ministry did not organize

industrial production of one new type of product, and over 30 million rubles of capital investments assigned for the development of the sector were lost.

The Central Committee does not intend to tolerate such permissiveness and such mismanagement any longer. The republic Council of Ministers and the newly organized Gosstroy (Comrade V. Artsruni) must carry out a decisive change in capital construction, and over the next 2 or 3 years bring about tangible shifts in the development of its physical plant, improve designing, increase work quality, as well as strengthen order and organization in the sector. All measures must be taken to ensure the efficient functioning of the new structure for the construction complex and for promptly completing the projects and capacity under construction.

**The disproportions in the location of the productive forces** continue to remain a particularly important problem. The situation is such that the difference in the development levels of the individual regions varies from 15- to 20-fold. The basic way for resolving this problem was felt to be the placement of the affiliates of the industrial enterprises in the small towns and rural areas of the republic. These affiliates should employ around 50,000 persons. Although their establishing did to some degree resolve the problem of employing the population, the social effect more and more began to contradict economic advisability. This production, as a rule, is based upon obsolete and worn out equipment, it is not sufficiently supplied with highly skilled personnel and specialists. At present, in terms of the technical and economic indicators, the affiliates are 2-4-fold behind the head enterprises. A new approach is required for developing the economy in the small towns and rayons in organizing flexible enterprises which are to a greater degree oriented at the effective use of local resources. In this instance it is advisable to widely employ leasehold and cooperative methods.

It is essential to review the programs worked out for the development and placement of the republic's productive forces in the future. We all know what the negative consequences were from the unjustifiably high concentration of industrial production in Yerevan. We also are aware of the results of the unsuccessful attempts to rectify the situation. In actuality, this process has not only not been stopped but continues to deepen. In the current Five-Year Plan, over one-half of all the most important newly built enterprises is located in Yerevan and the Yerevan agglomeration with the creation of approximately 50,000 new jobs. If we add to this the additional jobs related to the expansion of production and the creation of the appropriate infrastructure, then according to preliminary estimates the mechanical increase in Yerevan's population will be more than 100,000 persons. This inevitably will lead to a significant migration of the population from rural localities.

All of this is the result of the lack of a well conceived mechanism for the territorial organization of production. The questions of establishing new enterprises and

their locating have often been settled on a voluntaristic and unsystematic basis in ignoring public opinion. Such an approach is inadmissible under present-day conditions.

Serious problems have also built up in the use of labor resources. Approximately 18 percent of the able-bodied population is not employed in social production and this exceeds the Union average by 1.5-fold. In many rayons, particularly Araratskiy, Masisskiy, Gugarkskiy, Martuninskiy, Oktemberyanskiy and others, one out of every three able-bodied inhabitant does not have a permanent job. In this context it must be admitted that the program for involving the unemployed portion of the able-bodied population in socially useful labor has been ineffective. We still do not have in operation an integrated system for labor placement, retraining and vocational guidance for the public.

We have been unable to provide a scientifically sound demographic policy both in the republic as a whole and in each city, rayon, and population point. How is it possible to overlook the fact that in almost one out of every two villages in Azizbekovskiy, Aparanskiy, Aragatskiy, Kafanskiy, Shamshadinskiy, Gorisskiy and a number of other rayons, over the last 15 years there has been an intensive drop in the size of the population. The questions of rebuilding previously eliminated population points have been solved unsystematically as well as the use of their land and production resources for organizing subsidiary farms, cooperatives and under lease.

The mistakes in the demographic policy and in the utilization of labor resources have led to a situation where from the beginning of the 1980s, the process of the migration of the population from the republic have been noted and have gradually intensified. While in the 10th Five-Year Plan due to migration the number per 1,000 inhabitants increased by one person, in the 11th Five-Year Plan, conversely, it was reduced by three. In 1987 alone, the negative balance exceeded 14,000 persons. And this was basically from rural localities. Proper attention was not paid to this very serious sociopolitical phenomenon.

The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan and the Goskomtrud [State Labor Committee] must thoroughly analyze the existing situation and carry out a qualitatively new policy in this area. It should be firm, modern and in implementing it the decisive place should be assigned to the local soviets.

In examining the tasks of national economic development, we would particularly like to bring up the question of implementing a **radical economic reform**. The central place in implementing the new economic policy is held by the conversion of the enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing. In actuality one out of

every two industrial enterprises and associations in the republic is operating under these conditions. In 1989, the reform will involve all enterprises in the sphere of material production.

The experience of many enterprises operating under the new conditions indicates that certain positive shifts are occurring in their activities. However, the restructuring of the economic mechanism as a whole in our republic is not being carried out with sufficient activeness and for individual areas the results are unsatisfactory. The Armenian CP Central Committee Secretary, Comrade K. Gambaryan, has not shown consistency in working out and implementing the tasks of leading the economic reform. A majority of the party committees and Central Committee sections, in considering the restructuring of management to be a purely economic task, have not been concerned with sufficient effectiveness with the questions of introducing full cost accounting and self-financing.

Many party committees and the leaders of the ministries and departments, the enterprises and associations have shown a misunderstanding of the exceptional importance of the USSR law governing the state enterprise and have taken a formal attitude toward the training and organizing of work of the labor collectives under the conditions of full economic accountability, self-financing and self-management.

The republic economy in financial terms was unprepared to convert to the new management methods. Of what readiness to work under the new conditions can one speak if the year 1987 was completed with losses by 74 associations and enterprises in industry, by 96 construction organizations, by 170 kolkhozes and sovkhozes as well as a number of transport, supply and trade organizations with total losses of over 174 million rubles. As a whole for the economy, liabilities to suppliers and banks were over 600 million rubles and the shortage of own working capital was more than 190 million rubles. The plan quotas for financial results were not fulfilled by one out of every five industrial enterprise and construction-installation organization.

Serious attention has not been given to developing internal production cost accounting. In republic industry, the contractual form of organizing labor involved only 8 percent of the workers employed in brigades. And in the system of the Minlegprom which for 18 months now has been operating under the new conditions, just 45 percent of the brigades operate on cost accounting and a total of 8 percent works under a collective contract. The situation is even worse at the enterprises of the Minkhimprom [Ministry of Chemical Industry], the Minelektrotekhprom [Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry] and the Minpribor [Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems] located on the republic's territory.

The economic reform will not work and will not provide real results if the personal interests of literally each worker are not involved. For this we must show particular responsibility in approaching the transition of wages to the new conditions. However, here, too, a substantial lag has been allowed. As of the beginning of the current year, just 17 percent of the enterprises in industry, construction, agriculture, transport and communications had been converted to these conditions, in comparison with 37 percent as a national average.

In order for economic accountability to more fully disclose its advantages, we must eliminate as quickly as possible the economic illiteracy of the personnel and reinforce the appropriate services of the enterprises and organizations with skilled specialists. It cannot be considered normal when one out of every third person employed in the economic service is not a specialist and one out of two does not have a higher economic education.

At present, we are not satisfied by the unenterprising work of the Gosplan, the Ministry of Finances, the banks and other economic departments in carrying out the practical tasks of the new economic policy. The transition is being made slowly to wholesale trade in the means of production and there has been no real restructuring of the payment and credit system or in strengthening monetary circulation. The financial policy being carried out at times is not completely focused on creating the necessary prerequisites for enterprising, highly efficient work.

There are also major shortcomings in the activities of the Gosplan. Its efforts have been focused in an extremely insufficient manner on the questions of working out the five-year plans and implementing the long-range tasks. The Gosplan has not fully mastered the situation in the course of working out the plans under the new conditions, it has not thoroughly analyzed the state of affairs on the spot and, as a rule, is under the sway of the projections submitted by the ministries, departments and enterprises.

There has not been a sharp about-face in the ideology, forms and methods of planning work, and as before the traditional, essentially passive, approaches prevail which do not consider the fundamental changes occurring in economic life. The Gosplan leadership and its personnel, finally, must realize that they bear complete responsibility for ensuring efficient and balanced development in the plans for the entire national economy, for scientifically sound formation of the general economic, intersectorial and regional proportions and a top-priority solution to the problems of raising the prosperity of the people. The Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Republic Gosplan Chairman, Comrade M. Mkrtchyan, must fundamentally change the work style of the personnel, reinforce it with skilled cadres (at present,

one out of every four workers does not have the appropriate education), and in actuality ensure a substantial rise in the scientific level of planning based on a profound analysis of the processes occurring in the national economy.

The existing situation demands that the Armenian CP Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers substantially strengthen work in this area and ensure the necessary supervision over the execution of the reform. We must enter the 13th Five-Year Plan with a smoothly operating economic mechanism. We must say directly that if we in the shortest time do not provide a major about-face in economic management, there will be no restructuring for us.

The 19th Party Conference and the July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee particularly emphasized the important significance of **restructuring the organizational management structures**. The question is to fundamentally renew the action of the management personnel of all levels in accord with the basic principles of the new economic and sociopolitical mechanism.

The republic has completed the elaboration of a general scheme for managing the economy and we should have this completely in place by the end of the year. This envisages a reduction in the number of ministries and departments by almost one-third, in the number of their central personnel by 50 percent while the number of independent structural subdivisions will almost be halved. As a whole, the reduction in the overall number of management personnel will exceed 6,000 persons. However, the main thing is not cutting back on the management personnel but rather creating all the necessary organizational prerequisites for moving from administrative to predominantly economic leadership methods.

We must show particular responsibility in our approach to working out and introducing before the year's end new management schemes for each ministry and department. The course of the work indicates that in many instances the party organizations and leaders of the ministries and departments have taken a mechanical approach to this question. No provision has been made for essential functional changes in the structural subdivisions and no qualitative restructuring is planned in the primary management element on the level of the enterprise and association. We must not allow in the process of improving national economic management for departmental interests and the subjectivism of individual bureaucrats to gain the upper hand. The bureau and secretariat of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the republic government must approach this question in a principled manner.

The work on the municipal and rayon levels must also be carried out in a reasonable manner. Here the essence is to strengthen the influence of the executive committees of the local soviets on solving the questions of improving

trade, domestic, communal, medical and cultural services for the public, and increase their coordinating role in the integrated socioeconomic development of the cities and rayons. Thought must also be given to improving the administrative and territorial divisioning of the republic.

Special attention must also be shown to job placement and the effective utilization of released personnel. This work must be carried out in accord with the labor legislation and under the unflagging supervision of the party, soviet and trade union organizations.

The restructuring of economic management in the republic should be accompanied by the broadening of mutually advantageous economic and scientific-technical ties with partners from overseas countries. The passivity and indecisiveness shown on this question are inadmissible.

#### **To Surmount the Deformations in Internal Party Life and Cadre Policy and to Restore the Bolshevik Traditions in the Republic Party Organization**

Comrades! We are presently at a very complex turning point. At this stage the republic party organization should show itself to be the expresser of the program goals of restructuring and become the active vanguard of society. We must carry out a fundamental reconstruction of party work, having placed at the center of this man with his most urgent problems.

The difficulty is that in recent years substantial deformations have occurred in the republic in the party approaches, in the very content of the political and organizational activities, cadre policy and the relations of the party committees, including the Central Committee, with the masses. A situation of indifference and conceit surviving in the republic party organization even after the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has led to a situation where many party committees have abandoned principled political and ideological positions and have become tied down in administrative procedures, passivity and excessive paperwork. A number of party members holding leading positions has been outside of supervision and criticism and began openly to abuse authority. A nomenklatura iron ring of functionaries dedicated to the leadership was formed.

In the approach to the "nomenklatura," there was established views which clearly diverted from party standards of "one's own man," "an obedient executor" and "a relatively honest worker." Of all personal qualities the ability to look loyally "above" was valued above all.

Indicative on this level was the career of the former republic minister of construction, R. Melikyan. Year after year the sector failed in its plans, it did not provide quality work and fell far behind in scientific and technical progress. It was precisely at this difficult moment an

unenterprising worker was recommended to the ministers and he was able at the required moment to give "firm assurances" and accept "good obligations." He was not only recommended but held "afloat," without noticing that the sector was becoming ever-rougher and that constantly knew holes were appearing in it.

It had almost become a rule for us to establish false authority for a leader, in closing our eyes to idleness, mistakes and miscalculations and complete stagnation in the assigned area of work. Unprincipledness and subjectivism in the recruitment and promoting of cadres led to a situation where in many instances the post of secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms were filled with people who did not possess either the abilities of a political leader, a precise civil position or the requisite moral qualities. Among them were G. Barikeyan, S. Daniyelyan, A. Azizyan, G. Kosakyan, V. Balayan and others. Permissiveness and license for such party leaders caused serious harm to the moral and political climate in the rayons where they worked and as a whole to the republic party organization.

How could such occur? I feel that the distortions in cadre policy were a result primarily of the discredited style of work of the party organizational sector under the Armenian CP Central Committee and its former chief, Kh. Mandalyan. Certainly it was no secret that the cadres were often selected secretly, without considering professional and political qualities. Party control was not exercised over their activities and eyes were closed to major violations of the standards of party life.

It can be said that I am mentioning facts of yesterday. I am doing this with reason. If we actually wish to fundamentally change cadre policy, then we must honestly and in a principled manner recognize that in this area we have departed far from the Lenin, Bolshevik traditions and from the high guidelines raised by the current course of the party to restructuring and democracy. Our party, Soviet and economic aktiv have been clearly unprepared to conduct a direct dialogue with people, to respond in a principled manner to criticism, to soberly assess the state of affairs and to rally around them all who not in words but in deed are ready to carry out restructuring in the republic.

We cannot take one step forward, as was pointed out at the 27th CPSU Congress, if we do not learn to work in the new manner, if we are unable to overcome the inertia and conservatism in any of their manifestations, and if we have lost the courage of soberly assessing the situation and seeing it as it actually is. In order for irresponsibility to be a matter of the past, it is essential to make it a rule to call things by their names and to judge everything honestly. It is high time to cease exercising unsuitable delicacy in places where exactingness and honesty should be shown, as well as a party conscience. No one has the right to forget the harsh warning by Lenin. "A false phrase and false bragging is moral death and a dependable guarantee of political death."

Let us find in our selves the courage to admit the bitter truth. The order-giving methods of party leadership, the omnipotence of the leaders on the spot and the underestimation of ideological and mass political work in the labor collectives led to a situation where the party gorkoms and raykoms and Central Committee were confronted with the threat of losing the political confidence of the workers. Here is how serious the question is at present.

The answer to it, I feel, is clear: there must be a decisive change in party work. We should place particularly strong demands at present on the work of the Armenian CP Central Committee, as well as its Buro. The scale and newness of the current and future questions and the complex turning point where the republic is at present demand from the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat a qualitatively new approach to resolving the urgent problems, maximum principledness in assessing their own work, professionalism and, I would say, self-sacrifice.

It is essential to change the style, forms and methods of the activities of the Buro and Secretariat, to restrict the number of sessions held and adopted documents, free the Bureau and Secretariat from reviewing routine economic problems, and focus chief attention on the fundamental questions of the development of the economy and the social sphere as well as cadre policy. They should act primarily as bodies of political leadership. Such an approach to a significant degree will increase the responsibility of the republic Council of Ministers, the ministries and departments.

Unfortunately, in the activities of a number of members of the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat we can at times observe inertia, a lack of initiative and a superficial approach to assessing the processes occurring in the republic. This is a result of their being divorced from real life, from the labor collectives and the primary party organizations and the deep-rooted habit of working only under assignment.

In the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat, they have been slow to establish an atmosphere of a free and frank exchange of opinions, comradely exactingness and reciprocal demandingness as well as personal responsibility of each for the assigned area of work. It is unacceptable when individual buro members remain silent, they do not voice their viewpoint in discussing acute and fundamental questions and assume a wait-and-see stance.

The members and candidate members of the Central Committee should work under a great and constant load. It is essential to develop principles and organizational bases which would create the conditions for the members and candidate members of the Central Committee to show high activeness and creative initiative not only during the plenums but would participate daily in solving urgent problems related to the socioeconomic and

spiritual development of the republic. This is also important for increasing the authority of the Central Committee, for strengthening its ties with the inferior party units as well as for a more active and energetic restructuring of cadre work.

For now, let us be frank, the restructuring of cadre work is going on slowly. The Central Committee Buro and Secretariat and the Section for Party Organizational Work have been timid in converting to democratic principles and glasnost in the recruitment and placement of personnel. For this reason it is not surprising that democratic forms in the work with the cadres are making little headway in the party gorkoms and raykoms. These are limited merely to individual attempts to employ new methods, they are in no hurry to eliminate the practice of the secret review of applicants and to stay within a narrow, long-existing group of workers. In the area of forming a reserve of cadres, the formalism has not been overcome and there is no true glasnost in the promoting of the reserve workers. This has been mentioned repeatedly, however there have been no changes. The Second Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Yu. Kochetkov, must go into these questions more thoroughly.

Generally speaking, I should directly admit that in the rayon and municipal party element at present we have accumulated very many stereotypes and failings as well as approaches which have long since outlived themselves.

Let us take the Talinskiy party raykom. Its workers are divorced from the masses, they operate by the method of pressure, they have taken over for the economic and soviet leaders and have not shifted the center of organizational and indoctrinational efforts into the labor collectives, into the brigades, sections and farms. In the rayon, the brigade and lease contract has actually been a failure. Last year 22 kolkhozes and sovkhoses here reduced the production and sale of meat and 23 did the same for milk. The cost of 1 quintal of grain is 2.5-fold above the planned, for grapes it is 2-fold and meat 1.5-fold.

An unhealthy moral and psychological atmosphere has developed in the rayon and an effective struggle is not being conducted against such antipodes of socialist morality as a consumer attitude toward labor, theft and money-grubbing and the violating of the standards of legality. The distortions in cadre policy have led to a situation where disreputable persons have ended up in the position of the leaders of the rayon consumer union, the rayobshchepit [rayon public dining association] and other rayon organizations.

Our people are very responsive to kindness, orderliness and honesty. They expect these qualities primarily from the party leaders who in a small rayon are always in view. But what a moral example has been provided by the First Secretary of the Talinskiy Party Raykom, S. Manukyan,

who has openly shown personal arrogance and who has wallowed in petty concerns for the well-being of relatives and creating for them, in bypassing the law, additional material benefits?

The facts of the serious miscalculations in the work of the party raykom and the personal arrogance of the first secretary have been known for 6 months now. But due to the fault of the Section for Party Organizational Work under the Central Committee, conclusions up to now have not been drawn and measures have not been taken to rectify the situation.

In the new future, the Central Committee Buro will examine the existing situation in Talinskiy Rayon and provide it with a principled assessment.

Serious shortcomings have been disclosed in the work of the party raykom of the Rayon imeni 26 Komissarov in the city of Yerevan. For flagrant errors in the work of directing the restructuring, for a lack of principle, for a low level of organizational and political work and for an indifferent attitude toward the social needs of the people, a strict reprimand has been handed down to the First Secretary of the Party Raykom, A. Oganessian, with the entry of this on his card. He was also dismissed from the held position.

From the rostrum of this plenum I want to state directly that there will be no more lenience for the cadres. There will be the strictest demands on each of the workers. It is essential to improve the cadre corps of the republic, to free it from any sorts of careerists, opportunists, yes-men, and involve in restructuring new forces free of the burden of the past. Today in all areas of party, soviet and economic work we must have responsible and competent people who are able both in ideas and in actions, and not merely intelligent organizers but organizers who are not indifferent to the job.

Where are such people to be found? We have developed a cadre vacuum and we are experiencing great difficulties in recruiting new people. Here an influx of fresh forces is indispensable. But time is required for this as well as consistent, painstaking work in training and indoctrinating the personnel. What must we do now?

For some the impression has been created that in the republic we have commenced a mechanical shifting of personnel along the horizontal, or, as the people say, moving from chair to chair. This is incorrect, comrades. We have firmly set out on the path of fundamental changes and a significant renewal of the cadre corps. But at the same time, we will endeavor to make maximum use of the available workers on the basis of a serious and principled analysis of their professional qualities and considering the existing situation and our actual capabilities. For instance, a number of party workers who have proven to be able organizers will now be entrusted with a more complex and responsible area of work. Here I have in mind primarily M. Mkrtchyan who has headed

the Leninakan Party Gorkom and M. Minasbekyan who was elected the first secretary of the Yerevan Party Gorkom. A somewhat different approach has been chosen for Comrade M. Muradyan. As a secretary of the Central Committee, he was in charge of the activities of Aykoop which is one of the most neglected areas in the republic. So we have sent him there. Let him personally straighten out the situation which has developed and bring the sector out of a blind alley.

Democratically, having broken the nomenklatura circle, we have moved in choosing the candidate for the chairman of the Goskomstat [State Statistical Committee]. Comrade L. Davtyan was proposed, a qualified economist, a specialist in statistics and who was unanimously supported by the collective of the Economics and Planning Institute under the Republic Gosplan where he had worked for an extended time.

I am speaking frankly to you, comrades, for I want you to be profoundly aware of the main thing. In cadre work always, and particularly at present, it is essential to seek out nonstandard solutions. We are searching for such solutions, this is a difficult search and possibly we will not always succeed in this. Our task, both of the Central Committee and the party committees on the spot is to see to it that this search be carried out considering the high guidelines of today. Only in this manner will we be able to see to it that the largest possible number of true supporters of restructuring be incorporated in the practical renewal of life. And we will eliminate that improbable reshuffling of personnel which has up to now prevailed in the republic.

Over 5 years, for example, in the food industry some 57 persons have been appointed enterprise leaders, but only 9 persons were promoted from the labor collectives and all the others from outside. Over the last 2 years, one out of three sovkhoz directors and kolkhoz chairmen has been dismissed. The same picture exists at the processing enterprises. Here one out of every three directors does not have the appropriate special education and among the chief engineers it is one out of two. Generally speaking, it has become an ordinary phenomenon in our republic when bread is baked by a lawyer, a cobbler is in charge of bottling lemonade and a pedagogue organizes the canning of vegetables.

The situation is no better in the party system. Among the raykom workers only 15 percent have a party political education and this is the lowest indicator in the country. Of the recently elected raykom and gorkom secretaries, 70 percent were not in the reserve and a predominant majority of them had not gained experience by working in the primary level. Many party workers are not working to improve themselves. Ask when they have opened up a recent issue of a magazine, attended the theater or a picture exhibit and will receive the disturbing reply that that is not something for us.

We have approached the reforming of the political system with an excessively heavy, unmanageable, and neglected cadre baggage. A public admission of this lamentable fact will scarcely help things. True political maturity at present consists in boldly and decisively changing the very principles of cadre policy. Here of primary significance is the realizing of the ideas of the 19th Party Conference on combining complete glasnost, voting and extensive supervision from below in resolving the cadre questions.

We should employ the forthcoming reorganization of the party personnel primarily to strengthen it with competent communists who possess the necessary moral qualities, vital and party political experience, theoretical knowledge and able to switch over to political methods of work.

If one proceeds from the specific features of our republic, then we must revise the practice of imposing comrades from Yerevan as secretaries of the party raykoms and gorkoms. Let me emphasize: the imposing. This is a practice established during the period of the administrative dictatorship and led to lamentable, to say the least, results as certain persons promoted from the capital considered themselves time-servers in the rayon and were more concerned about external prestige and personal well-being than with business.

If the approach is obsolete and has not proven effective, then it must be discarded without hesitation. And it is essential to find a new one which meets the today, the tasks of renewal and democratization. And we have already proceeded in this manner in electing the first secretaries in Kirovakan, Sisian and Aparan. We have said directly to the local comrades: propose your own candidates, judge them yourselves and yourselves elect the more worthy. Possibly we have not succeeded in doing everything completely but one thing is beyond dispute: the elections have been not upon instructions from the capital but are based on the free and completely unrestricted expression of the will of the communists and have been an effective lesson in democratization and glasnost for the local aktiv. The communists in a principled and thorough manner evaluated their future leaders. And the secretaries themselves with heightened responsibility approached their new position as they are to live here and hence from their very first steps must value the honor and trust of their constituents. It has also become a practice to propose several candidates in selecting the secretaries of the party committees.

The need has long been present of changing the psychology of parasitism. Many primary secretaries, having scarcely set to work, immediately begin to make enormous efforts to more quickly create in Yerevan a program for aiding the rayon. How many such programs were adopted for Talinskiy, Martuninskiy, Masisskiy and other rayons and which were noisily proclaimed and provided with such self-advertising as "I have achieved" and "due to me now you will obtain everything." But the

roar of applause had scarcely died down when the program was placed quietly on the shelf. And stagnation in the designated rayons was thus and continues to remain up to now.

For the sake of the truth, it must be admitted that not all of the rayon workers were waiting patiently for manna from heaven from the capital. Among them there were business-like people, with their own view of the problem and their own thoughtful and sober approach to this. As an example, I might mention the former First Secretary of the Akhuryanskiy Party Raykom, M. Mkrtchyan. They worked in Akhuryan without excessive noise, but thoroughly, consistently and achieved noticeable results. The villages were modernized, farming was developing stably and the harvests were increasing. Even such a complicated sector as livestock raising was qualitatively transformed and won authority among the Akhuryan youth. Now new workers must compete to join the farms which have become model ones in the rayon.

We must currently take up such experience and make it accessible to all.

I cannot refrain from mentioning one phenomenon which has fettered our forces and opportunities. I have in mind the zones existing in the republic which are closed to criticism.

The Leninakan Party Gorkom until recently worked behind such a wall of silence. The personnel was drowned in paperwork and furiously sent out instructions. In the meanwhile, social problems had built up in the city, the industrial enterprises were marking time, the quality of construction was sliding downwards and theft and speculation were growing. And what efforts are now required to shake out the people, to incite in their hearts confidence, optimism and a creative attitude and to embody the tasks of restructuring in actual deeds.

Approximately the same difficulties, if not more, currently confront the Yerevan Party Gorkom. Whatever the case, we succeeded in protecting the capital party organization from even the slightest rebukes of idleness. Three years ago, a decree was adopted of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to develop the municipal economy of Yerevan, a very extensive decree which set the responsible task of solving the main social and ecological problems in the republic capital by 1990. In the party gorkom and the executive committee of the municipal soviet a major program was noisily proclaimed and it was to be a matter of honor for each and every one of us to carry it out. But everything ended with this.

Only in April of the current year did the Yergorkom [Yerevan Municipal Committee] pick up on and discuss the course of carrying out the decree at the plenum. The discussion was a formal one. Incidentally, not the best tone here was set by the speech of the chairman of the Gorispolkom, candidate member of the Bureau of the

CPA Central Committee, Comrade E. Avakyan who was responsible for the failure to carry out the planned. And much, as can now be judged, was not carried out. Merely due to the lag in the construction rate of housing, some 2,500 families were deprived of an opportunity to move into new apartments.

This is what happens when we create zones closed off to criticism, glasnost and public supervision. And a whole series of party, soviet and social organizations as well as ministries and departments were in such zones.

We could have avoided many shortcomings and errors if our primary party organizations had worked more militantly and if they had not in words but in deed showed themselves to be the political nucleus of the collective. Reports and elections are presently underway in the party organizations. This is the first major political campaign after the 19th Party Conference. It must provide maximum assistance in increasing the militancy of the party organizations and instill in their activities political methods of leadership and a democratization of all internal party life.

The meetings conducted in the party groups, the shop and certain primary organizations indicate that the communists are working to rethink the forms and methods of work and master the entire arsenal of democracy. At present, we must have a direct, frank and honest discussion of what is impeding the restructuring, preventing the search for the best solutions, the enrichment of the ideological life of the party organizations and the active overcoming of inertia.

The vital response of the workers to the appeal of the Armenian CP Central Committee before the current plenum shows that the communists and workers want such a discussion. Over 2,000 letters, proposals and remarks were received just by the Central Committee and these in a professional-like and interested manner took up many urgent and vital questions. These letters were of enormous help to us in preparing for the plenum. A portion of the proposals and comments from the workers are reflected in the plenum report and in the near future specific measures will be taken on the remainder. In the future, we will continue the practice of a direct dialogue with the people, in heeding their voice in resolving urgent questions.

It is extremely important to increase the demands placed on the soviets and their executive bodies. At present, the task can be posed as follows: the party's economic and social policy should be carried out primarily through the soviets. This is a fundamentally new approach which guarantees true democracy. **It is essential to really broaden the rights and powers of the soviets**, as was recommended at the 19th Party Conference. It is completely intolerable when the soviets do not delve into the daily needs of the workers, do not provide proper

leadership over the trade, domestic, transport and medical services for the public and have little influence on solving such vitally important problems as providing the people with housing, water, nurseries and creches.

The Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet (Chairman, Comrade G. Voskanyan) must above all strengthen the struggle against all that prevents the full disclosure of the capabilities of the soviets. The soviets are one of the leading and decisive elements in the struggle for restructuring, for broadening democracy and glasnost. And we must immediately raise their work to carry out these important tasks.

**A fundamental change is essential in the work of the trade unions.** As of now, many committees act sluggishly and without initiative. At present, we should say directly to the chairman of Sovprof [Trade Union Council], Comrade M. Arutyunyan: it is essential to turn more actively to the daily needs of the people. Under the conditions of enterprise independence and the establishing of the principles of self-management in the labor collectives, the trade unions must be the reliable guarantor for the democratic rights of the workers, actively influence their attitudes and aid actually and in deed in becoming the masters on the job.

**At present, our youth requires serious attention from the party.** We at times forget the essence of the party approach: trust in the youth, for testing them in concrete deeds, creating the necessary conditions for the actual involvement of the young men and women in restructuring. Many Komsomol committees do not go deeply into the complex processes occurring among the youth, they become tied down with paperwork, sessions and meetings to the detriment of actual work.

At present, the Komsomol has been given great rights. These rights must be fully mastered and relied on actively in the struggle against infantilism, flagmaticness and mercenariness which have presently infected a portion of our youth.

It is our party duty to bring Komsomol work into the thick of life, to find and promote bold enterprising organizers capable of involving the young men and women in real undertakings, and uniting all who want by their knowledge and spiritual drive to aid restructuring. We have confidence in our youth and are convinced that they will take a most direct in the renewal of the republic.

**The strengthening of the work of the people's control bodies is urgently required.** Their activities are still not sufficiently focused on the most crucial questions. In many instances there has been a tolerant attitude toward cases of mismanagement and waste, and the materials of the inspections are not examined scrupulously. We must do serious work on bringing the restructuring of the entire system of control in the republic into conformity with the decisions of the 19th Party Conference.

It is time to have a special discussion of the existing situation in the **crime prevention bodies**. In making use of the lenience of the party bodies, they put themselves in conditions which led to permissiveness and ideological and moral degradation of a number of workers.

Remember the case which was written about by the newspapers when a certain woman singer was unable to have a good time in the room reserved for her in a Leningrad hotel? And do you know who, showing enviable adroitness, was able to occupy such a prestige apartment? It turned out to be the section chief of the Investigatory Administration of the Armenian MVD, T. Dzhndoyan. In truth, in the aim of conspiracy, he played the part of a high official from the republic Ministry of Bakery Product. But without hesitation he put up almost 1,000 rubles for 12 days' stay in the deluxe room. Following in his father's footsteps was the student son, a future lawyer, who took another room in the same hotel, assuming the role of a worker from the Masis firm.

One might expect that the party organization and the MVD leadership would provide a principled assessment to the conduct of their worker. However, this fact was not viewed sharply.

Or here is another example. The chief of the Shirakskiy ROVD in the city of Leninakan, L. Oganessian, bought a home for his 18-year-old son. And he added to this the keys to a Volga car. A little later on he made one other generous gesture in presenting a new Zhiguli car to his daughter.

From the results of a check on these facts, a note was forwarded to the Leninakan Party Gorkom from the KPK [Party Control Commission] under the Armenian CP Central Committee and which assigned the primary party organization to examine the moral aspect of the conduct of the communist leader. How did the communists of the ROVD respond? The party buro members met and adopted the decision that Communist Oganessian had not committed actions which were unseemly of a leader. For this reason the question of the conduct of Communist Oganessian was not brought up for review by a party meeting.

In this context I cannot keep silent about the opinion of the simple people. At one of the meetings with workers, I heard: "When will order be imposed in the police and procurator's office? We have no confidence in them!" Are there grounds for such a categorical assertion? Unfortunately, there are.

In the republic there have been numerous instances of the concealment of crimes, extortion and the receiving of bribes by co-workers from the crime prevention bodies, moral degeneration, the violating of official ethics, domestic arrogance and lack of principles. Over the last 3 years alone, some 50 co-workers of the internal affairs bodies were held criminally liable and condemned.

Incompetence and irresponsibility have led to a situation where the MVD services and subdivisions have

promptly not checked or have not even disclosed many crimes, including severe ones. Suffice it to say that just over the last 2 ½ years, 19 cases of theft, 23 cases of assault, 480 apartment robberies and even cases of murder remained uninvestigated. There has not been activeness in combating major thefts and there have been ineffective measures to disclose persons involved in the "shadow" economy.

Or take the following question: How is it that over the entire year in 20 rayons of the republic, not a single case of bribery was detected? Because the investigation of many cases ends at the middle level and bypasses the true organizers of crimes.

In order to create the appearance of well-being the desired is often depicted as the actual. As is known, the republic has been sharply criticized for bribery, speculation and other negative phenomena. But according to the report data of the crime prevention bodies, it turns out that last year the situation in our republic was virtually a paradise: the number of persons condemned for bribery declined by one-third and for speculation involving particularly large amounts by more than 2-fold.

Whom are we trying to deceive, comrades? And most importantly, for the sake of what? Our republic is small and many know each other for generations. To conceal here facts of moral dishonesty is simple impossible.

Now let us imagine what our ordinary worker encounters under these conditions. Lines for the most essential products, deception, improper weighing, artificial scarcity, speculation, theft and extortion. Years of waiting for an apartment, and overcrowded buses. While nearby are prestige vehicles, including foreign makes, luxurious private dwellings estimated at hundreds of thousands of rubles, furniture and household finishings produced in Japan and Finland.

What do the workers experience in seeing all of this? Just one thing, mistrust of social justice and the force of legality. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the republic procurator's office and its local bodies have assumed a passive position in the strengthening of legality. There is a very low level of procurator supervision over the observance of legality in the economic sphere. There have not been the proper results in disclosing persons engaged in the theft of national property, the taking of bribes, and the investigating of cases relating to these is frequently conducted poorly, unskillfully and even with bias and clear lack of objectivity. In 1987 alone and in the first half of the current year, the court bodies returned for further investigation some 160 criminal cases, although for all these cases the procurators had confirmed the charges of guilty. There has been a low level in court investigation itself.

I feel that we must no longer tolerate such a situation. A new Minister of Internal Affairs, Comrade U. Arutyunyan has now been appointed. He has not been given time

to learn the ropes and must immediately set to work in the new manner and decisively.

The republic procurator's office requires an immediate and fundamental restructuring. Comrade S. Osipyan has been talked with about this. Obviously, comrades, we must strengthen not only procurator supervision but also party supervision over the procurators.

In the crime prevention bodies, so many acute problems have accumulated that, I feel, the question of their work merits a special discussion before the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee and possibly at one of the party aktivs.

Comrades! We have boldly set out on a critical review of our affairs. We do not conceal what lies ahead, very intense and very complex work.

In concluding the report, I would again like to emphasize one important aspect. The effectiveness of our further party policy, presently to a decisive degree, depends upon how actively and responsibly each of us—from the rank-and-file communist to the party leader—will act in the assigned area. How firmly and consistently will all of us ensure an atmosphere of high demandingness, a lack of complacency with the achieved level, intolerance of shortcomings, and what will be our real influence on solving the urgent questions which determine the mood and well-being of the workers?

On the eve of our plenum, I phoned Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. He took a detailed interest in the state of affairs in the republic, and showed great interest in our efforts to improve the situation and voiced useful advice on the practical realization of the ideas of the 19th Party Conference and the decisions of the July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Mikhail Sergeyevich knows that we are holding a plenum today, and he approved that at it we were to bring up for discussion such a timely question and he wished us successful and fruitful work. Such business-like and concerned support by the CPSU Central Committee obliges all of us to carry out even more persistent and energetic work in the spirit of restructuring.

In the consolidating of our forces and in increasing activeness and aggressiveness lies the guarantee that restructuring in the republic will pick up speed and bring real, tangible results.

#### **Other Officials Address Plenum**

18300056a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
17 Sep 88 pp 2-5

[Report on Debates at the Plenum of the CPA Central Committee: "For Decisively Overcoming the Phenomena of Stagnation"]

[Editorial Introduction] As was already announced, on 13 September 1988, a plenum was held of the Armenian

CP Central Committee which reviewed the question "On the Tasks of the Party Organization in Overcoming the Phenomena of Stagnation in the Economy, the Social Sphere and Improving the Ideological and Moral Situation in the Republic." Giving the report was the First Secretary of the CPA Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan.

Then the debates commenced. [End of Editorial Introduction]

The floor was given over to the First Secretary of the Yerevan Party Gorkom, M.S. Minasbekyan.

The current plenum, he said, is of fundamental significance in the life of the republic party organization. In essence, its decisions will largely determine how restructuring will be carried out in Armenia, that is, whether the marking time will continue or finally we will move from words to deeds.

In accepting the assessments given in the report of S.G. Arutyunyan relating to the events of recent months, I would like to take up the following: regardless of the normal pace of labor, the situation in the city continues to remain complex. At present, one observes high social activeness of the population. For this reason, one of the main tasks for the communists is seen by us in, along with normalizing the situation, to completely direct the efforts of people into a constructive channel. This is not an easy task. But if something concrete can be done in this area, it will have a beneficial influence. For example, after the issuing of the well-known Decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers as well as the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the NKAO, many labor collectives made proposals to participate in carrying them out. In the party gorkom, these were generalized and then coordinated with Stepanakert. A program was worked out for further actions and this is energetically being implemented by the city workers.

Comrades! All that the republic was criticized for at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was most apparent in Yerevan. For this reason, obviously, the dissatisfaction has been felt so acutely here.

If a person in the morning cannot wash because there is no water, if he is late to work or cannot come back home on time due to the undependable operation of municipal passenger transport, if the stores lack even a minimum assortment, if prices on the markets are excessively high and there are cooperatives which virtually do not help in solving municipal problems, if the questions of ecology are already evoking universal concern, if bribery, speculation, protectionism and other negative phenomena are flourishing, if.... How many such "ifs" are encountered in the daily life of the Yerevan residents and which have a substantial influence on their attitudes and work efficiency!

The people are aware that not all problems can be solved immediately, however there is just indignation over the fact that there are few concrete deeds to back up the good intentions and promises. For example, take the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Further Develop the Yerevan Municipal Economy in 1986-1990" and which for us is of vitally important significance and about which so much has been said for 3 years. The quotas have not been met for completing children's preschool institutions for 2,350 places when only 42 percent of the city's children attend nurseries. The water supply plans have been fulfilled by 80 percent, heat supply by 50 percent, and each year some 50,000 m<sup>3</sup> of industrial wastes are released untreated every day into the municipal sewage system and directly into the Razdan River. This list could be continued. But the most amazing thing is that no one has been held responsible for this. The situation of permissiveness to the detriment of the fundamental interests of the public can no longer continue.

There is particular concern over the rate of the construction, reconstruction and expansion of construction industry facilities without which we are unable to solve the most important sociopolitical task of providing each urban family with an apartment or individual house by 1998. As is known, this is based upon the principle of the just allocation of housing. The course of carrying out the housing program which in terms of its quality is beneath criticism indicates that what has been planned is under a real threat of failure. Over the last period the number of families in acute need on the list did not decline. They promise to "eliminate" the persons waiting with priority status for 10 and more years by 1987, but now there are over 250 families. With such a situation it will clearly be unrealistic to provide by 1993 apartments for all families put on the list before 1 January 1987. We must again and promptly revise the housing program, and make it sober, balanced, detailed and specific. It should be discussed publicly by all the city workers and made available to each person. Its execution will be monitored by those for whom it is designed, that is, by the people. It must be said that we intend to use this principle as the basis in carrying out the major tasks involving the interests of a majority of the population.

These and other similar problems which have been steadily building up in our city and have been awaiting a solution for years indicate how often words differ from deeds and after this should one be amazed that the people's faith in carrying out the planned has been undermined. This depreciates the ideological efforts of the party organizations. In such a situation the people are unable to fully show themselves creatively. This is why Yerevan with its significant scientific, technical and intellectual potential for a long time has not made any noteworthy experiment or initiative. And what has arisen has frequently been drowned in routine, bureaucratic obstacles, without receiving the necessary party support.

There are major shortcomings in the activities of the Yerevan party raykoms which were disclosed in discussing the work of the Raykom imeni 26 Komissarov and where principled assessments were given. The party gorkom must organize its work with all the raykoms and primary party organizations precisely from these positions.

The above-given facts of negative phenomena are grounds for incorrect conclusions and generalizations and the unjust actions by individual workers are extended to all institutions and to all society. It would be just for the party, soviet and economic leaders guilty of this to be responsible for such a situation in the city. This is the demand of the party organizations and the labor collectives. This was spoken of at the recent meetings in the gorkom with the party, war and labor veterans, the party group of municipal soviet deputies, the members of the women's council and gorkom as well as at the city meetings of the party-soviet and ideological aktivs.

In our view, in the developing situation a large portion of the blame lies on the Armenain CP Central Committee the long-existing style and methods of which (loud phrases, protectionism, wage leveling, a desire to conceal shortcomings, disregard for public opinion, and noisy criticism without any conclusions and consequences) were passed on to the inferior organizations. Recently the Central Committee has never truly placed any demands for the carrying out of the above-mentioned Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers as well as for the housing program. No demands have been placed and nothing has been done to rectify the situation.

For this reason, we fully share the idea that there should not be any zones outside of effective criticism.

We view as the main link by which we can grasp the entire chain of problems confronting us in an energetic ridding of society of the distortions of socialist morality and the steadfast carrying out of the principles of socialist justice. Here cadre policy holds an important place.

The residents of Yerevan correctly criticize us for the existing serious shortcomings in the recruitment and placement of cadres. They have pointed out that often in promotion to leading jobs they proceed from personal sympathies, loyalty and kinship relations. There has been little fight against protectionism. As a result there still are many unqualified persons in leading party, soviet and economic work, people with obsolete views and ideas and who lack initiative, a creative approach to things and a feeling for the new.

For this reason presently all of our attention must be focused on a fundamental improvement in the area of the recruitment, placement and indoctrination of the party cadres. This is particularly important at present, in the crucial stage of party renewal, in deepening restructuring, when the reports and elections are underway in

the party organizations and the communists are electing the party leaders and are deciding to whom they should entrust the leadership of the party organization. Whether these are true leaders having unconditional respect, political fighters capable of influencing the masses and leading them and in fact provide a new quality of party work will depend largely upon the party gorkom and raykoms which should endeavor for the party cadre core not to be determined as before by belonging to some "listed group" but rather be the free and completely unrestricted expression of the will of the communists.

It must be said frankly that on this question we have encountered major difficulties. The training of the cadres is a complex process which requires a good deal of time. An analysis of the existing reserve has indicated that there has been much formalism here. In practical terms after the reserve was formed it was forgotten. There are no objective criteria for assessing the activities of the workers and because of this wage leveling has flourished and this, in turn, has created scope for uncontrolled one-man management. This, in our opinion, is completely inadmissible, particularly in party work. One other thing. We must obviously raise the responsibility placed on persons providing the recommendations, otherwise "collective responsibility" will be very much like irresponsibility.

The guarantee against the repetition of the errors of the past can be only an across-the-board establishing of party principles in cadre policy. And "principles, comrades," said Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, "are principles because they must not be foregone." This notion will lie at the basis of the activities of the municipal party organization in carrying out the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The First Secretary of the Stepanavanskiy Armenian CP Raykom, Yu.G. Chshmarityan, in his comments said:

The effectiveness of party policy ultimately is determined by the resolving of vital questions in the well-being of the Soviet man and by an attentive attitude toward his concerns and aspirations. Consequently, the criterion for the ability of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee to keep pace with the times and to exercise party leadership over the process of the revolutionary restructuring in the republic should be an open discussion of the acute and urgent problems which are found in all spheres of social life and the immediate steps to resolve them. It is no secret that in every rayon of the republic, in the city and countryside, and particularly in Yerevan, dissatisfaction is growing over the epidemic of bribery and extortion on all levels and the shameless selling of positions. At the same time, even after the July (1987) Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee, measures were not adopted in the republic to eliminate the negative phenomena from our life.

Deviations from the social standards of conduct, distortions of these standards, as well as the marking of time in economic and social life were characteristic of the party organization in our rayon. However, the numerous warnings received from the rayon were left unheeded.

Restructuring means the rectification of the committee mistakes and the overcoming of obsolete criteria and methods of work. Presently, certain positive changes have been achieved in the rayon in employing advanced forms of the organization of labor in agricultural production such as the family and lease contract, the cooperative movement has gotten underway, democracy and glasnost have been developed in party work, work efficiency has increased and the ideological and moral atmosphere has improved. In rural localities the housing problem has been eliminated and it will be settled by 1993 in the city. We constantly keep the questions of international indoctrination at the center of our attention.

However, at present only the most insignificant success has been made in the merciless struggle against the old way of thinking which, honestly speaking, is still very viable. The implementation of current agrarian party policy is impeded by a number of circumstances. For example, the rural workers often avoid leasing plots of land from a farm solely for the reason that it is unirrigated. The lessee in fact becomes the servant of two masters: the land is under the management of the Gosagroprom while water is under the control of the Ministry of Water Management. Would it not be better to turn over the land and the water to a single organization? Another question is that the economic policy in livestock raising has reached a stalemate due to the absence of mutually advantageous relations between the leader of the farm and the livestock raiser. The poor quality combined feed distributed to the farms restrains both sides from practical steps. The Armenian People's Control Committee has studied and discussed this question and individuals were held responsible. However, the situation with the combined feed has not improved. The only way out of the arising situation is to convert to state acceptance for the production of the combined feed.

Comrades! After the 19th All-Union Party Conference, having visited the northern rayons of the republic, the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan, also visited Stepanavan. At a meeting with the party-economic aktiv, a business-like discussion arose on the solving of socioeconomic tasks, the course of implementing the Food Program, the broadening of the public health network, the recreational zones, as well as the development of progressive forms of the organization of labor. Among the social questions, particular mention was made of housing construction and food supply. The task was raised of bringing the average milk yields up to 3,500 kg over the next 3 years and doubling the sale of milk to the state.

The party, soviet and economic bodies in the rayon are aware of the importance and complexity of the task and have already adopted measures of a political, organizational and economic nature. Together with the Armenian Gosagroprom and the RAPO, structural changes are being carried out. Many problems of the rayon workers are being solved and these have been left without attention for many years.

We approve the work style of the leadership of the Armenian CP Central Committee and we are in favor of having the other leaders on the republic level also find the strength to revise their work style. We must not forget the recent past when the secretaries of the Armenian CP Central Committee during their visits did not even meet with the members of the raykom buro.

A vivid example of bureaucratism was the work style of the former head of the Section for Party Organizational Work under the Armenian CP Central Committee, Kh. Mandalyan. The section had to be reorganized on the spot, as hypocrisy was imposed in the relationships of the party Central Committee and the raykom and the real opinion of the people was ignored. For example, at the end of last year, on the eve of the discussion at a plenum of the report of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee on the leadership of restructuring in the republic, upon orders of Kh. Mandalyan the raykom submitted to the section positive replies from the primary party organizations on the activities of the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee and its individual members.

Inherent to the Section for Party Organizational Work was a style of excessive paperwork.

Having read the article "Take a Look and Understand" published in IZVESTIYA, we wondered why the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee did not promptly provide a principled assessment of the conduct of Kh. Mandalyan. Did they really not know what the section head was doing and that he could not set an example for the party workers? Did the Central Committee Buro really proceed correctly, having entrusted him with the responsible position of the chief of the Armenian Republic Directorate of the USSR Gosstandart [State Standards Committee]?

I propose that the section heads under the Armenian CP Central Committee be hired on a competitive basis as this would provide an opportunity for all party workers to participate. If the Central Committee personnel were added to on democratic principles of party work, then in the recruitment of the cadres it would scarcely be possible to have the completely unrestricted style of protectionism in the work of Kh. Mandalyan and over a short period of time the personnel of the Armenian CP Central Committee would scarcely take on such a large number of representatives from Leninskiy Rayon.

On no level of leadership should there be zones closed off against criticism. There should not be offices and people free of responsibility. However, in practice there are numerous examples when a person who has failed in a leading position is moved to a different seat. The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee, in our opinion, should in a sincere manner replace the party and soviet apparatus and give up on the workers guilty of stagnation in Armenia.

Just as unmercifully and uncompromisingly we combat the persons guilty of stagnation, the passive and covert opponents of restructuring, so actively and boldly should be the party, state and public support for the active participants of restructuring and the persons who have dedicated themselves to the renewal of our society.

In carrying out the restructuring the mass information media are a dependable support and at times the advisers of the party workers. We express our gratitude to those journalists who are always with us, take pleasure in the first successes of restructuring and endeavor to make them known to others as well as justly complain and criticize the shortcomings. But how should we call those who under the conditions of democracy and freedom have turned their pen into a sword of Damocles against leaders of varying rank? Just try not to carry out the will of the correspondent from the newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, K. Arakelyan, and not respond properly to his selfish desires and demands. Recently the Bureau of the Stepanovanskiy Party Raykom in the author's presence discussed his article "The Arbitrariness of the Chairman" published in the newspaper SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, in conducting a sharp discussion of the correspondent's ill will.

In our opinion, in the future we must be more specifically concerned with the questions of increasing the responsibility of the editors of the republic newspapers and individual journalists for the published materials. The press should not be the place for those fond of fishing in murky waters.

The positive changes which have occurred in the republic over the last 3 or 4 months as well as the established situation of glasnost have evoked approval from the public and instill confidence that the Armenian CP Central Committee will be able once and for all to eliminate the gap between word and deed and direct our collective force into advancing the cause of restructuring.

The current Central Committee Plenum, said the Brigade Leader of Tool Makers from the Gegama Production Association in Kamo, P.A. Afrikyan, will be of very important, crucial significance for the socioeconomic and spiritual development of our republic. The atmosphere already felt in the republic and at the current plenum instills the hope that the necessary changes will be made.

I have worked for 28 years at one enterprise which was previously called a cable plant and this year was renamed the Gegama Production Association.

Our once small enterprise presently employs 1,500 persons. Labor conditions have changed. During the current year we have converted to new management conditions and state acceptance has been introduced. Certain social problems are being resolved under conditions of self-financing and cost accounting.

With satisfaction it must be pointed out that even this year we did not have any persons waiting for housing as we have housing under construction for 60 families and 20 are waiting. The residents received the orders ahead of time, even before the start of construction.

We have built a nursery, sports facilities, a boarding house and we also have a Pioneer camp. There have been successes both in the economic and social spheres. However, what has been done as yet cannot satisfy us. Several days ago I, as a candidate member of the Central Committee, took part in the report-election meeting of the party group in the shops producing consumer goods. The communists subjected me to just and strict criticism. I am carrying out my production quotas; however, as a candidate member of the Central Committee, I have held a passive position.

What was discussed at the meeting? The lack of elementary services at the association. Dissatisfaction was expressed over trade, medical and domestic services and the activities of certain food cooperatives. The enterprise dining room often lacks certain types of products. For around 5 years, talks have been underway between the leaders of the association and the trade organizations for opening up a trade point at our plant, however, as they say, nothing has come of it.

We do not have too much confidence in our specialist positions. To all of this we must add that fruit and vegetable trade has been poorly organized. I have the impression that only in Yerevan are they concerned with imposing order in fruit and vegetable trade and no importance is given to the problems of the mountain rayons on this question. On this level I consider it to the point to criticize the leadership of our rayon and also the republic. Is there any order in the deliveries of the fruits and vegetables? Of course not! I feel that the Member of the Bureau of the Armenian CP Central Committee and Chairman of the Republic Gosagroprom, V. Movsisyan, should draw serious conclusions from what has been said.

I would also like to touch upon the negative phenomena which were mentioned at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Certainly all of this also concerns our rayon and our party organization.

For many years in our republic such discredited phenomena from the period of stagnation as protectionism, bribery, speculation and so forth have put down roots. Definite work is being done to eradicate them; however, proceeding from today's demands, this cannot be considered satisfactory. This must be explained by the long years of inertia in the work of the Armenian CP Central Committee and by the unhealthy situation which reigned in the republic. This told directly on the activities of our party organization.

There have been numerous instances of covering up the phenomena of running in place, ostentation, administration by mere decree, bureaucracy, an insensitive, coarse attitude toward others, the violating of illegality and social injustice.

It must be said that at present not everyone correctly understands his place in restructuring. There is the opinion that this applies primarily to the leading workers.

We, the workers, have not endeavored to take responsibility for restructuring.

We are also concerned by the state of affairs in the trade sphere. Year after year we have heard that goods are being dispatched from the depots according to the principle of material gain. We will hope that if this is the case, after the plenum an end will be put to this irritating phenomenon.

The people's control committees and in the republic and our rayon work in a completely unsatisfactory manner. With the presence of numerous inspection and punitive organizations, alien phenomena basically continue to occur. In a word, the struggle in this area is completely unsatisfactory, decisive measures are required and we are confident that they will be taken against all level of cadres who fail in their job.

Comrades! The republic is taking too long to resolve certain urgent questions. Quite recently, structural changes were carried out in the construction management system. However, following the example of our rayon, it can be said that as of now there have not only not been any improvements, but, conversely, material supply has deteriorated and we are threatened by the delayed completion of a plant at our association as well as rayon social facilities.

Agrostroy [Agrarian Construction Administration] of the republic Gosagroprom (G. Abelyan) has actually removed itself and not shown concern for our construction organizations.

Presently, construction is widely being carried out on the ring collector around Lake Sevan. However, we are concerned by the fact that there have been delays in the designing of the connecting of the sewage waters from the town of Kamo and the rural population points to the

collector. It must be assumed that the Armenian Minister of the Housing and Utility System, R. Minasyan, will take immediate measures to bring final clarity into this question so that there will not again be a situation where the city treatment plant has been under construction for 10 years; in actuality around 3 million rubles of state funds have been wasted and further construction on the project has been judged ill-advised.

We are concerned by one other problem involving the spiritual development of people. It happens that at home, after a hard work day, in sitting in front of the television set, one sees monotonous broadcasts which do not move either the heart or mind. Man and his concerns remain off the screen. What sense does it make when the broadcasts of the second program of Armenian Television cannot be seen by the 60,000 inhabitants of our rayon? This question has been raised; however, it has not found its solution. In considering that the chairman of Gosteleradio [State Television and Radio Broadcasting] was appointed recently, we would like to turn to the Minister of Communications, A. Mirzoyan, to say that the people are patiently waiting for your reply.

We link great hopes with the report-election campaign underway, and we welcome the party line aimed at broadening glasnost and democracy and the introduction of the new procedure for electing the leading bodies.

I am profoundly convinced that each of us will draw the necessary practical conclusions from the plenum's work and its concrete ideas. Everywhere words must be turned into deeds.

The President of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, Academician V.A. Ambartsumyan, said:

Allow me on behalf of the intelligentsia of Armenia to completely support the notion of S.G. Arutyunyan that the decisive eradication of the negative phenomena from the period of stagnation is the primary and most important task for the republic party organization.

Over the last 15 years, there has been greater bribery, protectionism, careerism and fraud in the republic while over their entire history the Armenian people have worked for the ideals of honesty, industriousness and justness.

In recognizing that solely by defeating the dark forces can restructuring come out on the high road, we should demand that the Central Committee leadership act in this area consistently and steadfastly.

The report correctly pointed up the role of science in the great cause of restructuring. In this context allow me to take up the state of affairs existing in science in our country and in particular in Armenia.

It must be pointed out that the start of energetic activities by the Armenian Academy of Sciences coincided with the first years in a period of the upsurge of Soviet science (1946-1971).

While before the founding of the Academy (before 1944), the physicomathematical sciences in Armenia were in such a state that the work done in this area in the republic did not attract attention in the nation, from the mid-1950s, the situation fundamentally changed.

In astronomy, mathematics, mechanics and physics and subsequently in physiology and biochemistry, ideas were advanced here which were not only completely new for domestic science but also for world science.

In the designated period Soviet science went through a great ascent. But it can be said that the science of Armenia, as an inseparable part of Soviet science, during this period developed at an even more accelerated pace.

Let me give several examples. Let us take astrophysics. Such discoveries made in Byurakan, as for example, the intrinsic polarization of the light of stars or a galaxy with an ultraviolet excess over a short period became important objects of attention in world astronomy. And the idea of the activeness of galaxy nuclei which arose in our country became the leading point of departure in modern extragalactic astronomy.

Our mathematicians also made a major contribution to the theory of analytical functions and series theory. They were able to make a new approach to the theory of integral transformations. They were also responsible for working out a new direction in integral geometry.

Armenia has developed a very high scientific potential in the area of physics. Our republic has four separate physics institutes of which two belong to the Academy, one is in the system of nuclear power and the other at the Yerevan State University.

In addition to these, under the Academy, there are two institutes which are closely tied to physics: the Institute for Radio Physics and Electronics and the Institute of Chemical Physics. In addition to the contribution made by all these institutions to fundamental research, they have also been able to make a significant addition to solving applied problems. These tasks are linked to new areas of the radioelectronics industry, applied acoustics and to the development of new measuring devices.

Chemical science has achieved a number of successes, in particular in employing mineral raw materials and developing synthetic medicines.

Let us note that a large portion of the purely applied subjects has been developed on a contractual basis in accord with the requests of industry and often from very authoritative organizations.

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of such projects and their total volume has reached 30 percent of the total amount of Academy work. We feel that this limit must not be exceeded. At the same time, the Academy considers it essential to develop within its system a network of design bureaus and experimental plants. It must be said that almost all of them operate on contractual bases, that is, on cost accounting. A significant portion of them makes instruments and materials for scientific institutions.

Along with all of this it must be recognized that while the proportional amount of Armenian science in the nation's science in 1946-1971 rose rapidly, subsequently this growth slowed down. At the same time, in being young, it should have had a higher growth rate.

The lag in domestic science was brought about by the extremely insufficient financing for purchasing equipment. As a rule, as an average once every 10 years the need arises to replace equipment employed in experimental, metering and computational processes, basically due to obsolescence. Here the replacing of equipment with new models should be carried out continuously. It last year somewhere they began to produce new, more advanced equipment for a given science, then a scientist should be able to purchase it for his laboratory at least within a year. This means that the question of foreign exchange for us at times is of exceptional significance.

However, even the central scientific institutions receive foreign exchange in miserly amounts. The Republic Academy of Sciences over the last 5 or 6 years has received only promises which were not met.

We request that the purchasing of imported scientific equipment be viewed as one of the primary tasks. On the other hand, more attention must be paid to producing modern domestic scientific equipment. Our Academy has done definite positive work in this area; however, it must be recognized self-critically that we could have done more.

Of course, the main condition for the development of science is the training of skilled personnel. Unfortunately, the skills of the personnel which we receive from the VUZes does not satisfy us. The reason for this is the laxity of demands in the schools and VUZes.

An experienced leader of a scientific institution at times prefers to have one highly skilled worker instead of 10 middle-level scientific co-workers. The increase in the skills of scientific co-workers should continue at the scientific institution where there should be an entire system of advanced training for the personnel. It must be directly admitted that in this area the Academy is still acting unsatisfactorily.

Along with increasing the skills of the personnel, we should also pay attention to replacing the leading scientific personnel. Over the last 2 years, the directors of

many Academy institutes have been replaced. Employing democratic means we have been able to elect numerous competent scientists. However, it is a bad thing that the new directors are in no hurry to replace the middle-level leaders, that is, the heads of the laboratories and sections. The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences in the future will make the further necessary changes in this question.

Naturally, great demands are placed on such an enormous scientific facility as the Academy from the viewpoint of its ties to production.

As is known, a large amount of the research is of a direct applied importance. However, here, too, there are significant shortcomings. An enormous number of orders is placed outside, while very few are given to the republic enterprises.

We consider the given question very important and for solving it it is essential to pool the efforts of the scientific and production organizations.

It would be desirable that the Central Committee would feel the necessity of devoting a special plenum to discussing the problems of science and here it would be possible to thoroughly examine the above-indicated questions.

Social sciences are of great importance for theory and practice. We are proud of our philosophers, historians, linguists, orientologists and scientists of related areas. But here, considering the requirements of ideological work, it is also essential to have a restructuring all the more as we have numerous shortcomings here.

Comrades! In concluding my speech, I would like to take up a question which, in my opinion, has assumed political importance and was raised by the Academy scientists during the May meeting. This is the recently increasing emigration. Many say that this is a question of human rights. But don't a people have rights? How should one proceed when children are deprived of their motherland? Adjustments must be incorporated in the republic's legislation on this question. The impression is gained that our internal affairs bodies have decided to eliminate bureaucracy primarily on the question of permitting travel abroad for the purpose of permanent residence. I think that the Ministry of Internal Affairs should give some thought to this.

Finally, as is known, a large portion of those leaving for abroad are former repatriates or their children. It is essential to study the reasons for this phenomenon and endeavor to eradicate them. The faster we rectify the situation the better it will be for the republic's reputation.

The republic party organization is confronted with complex tasks which require a quick resolution. In supporting the proposals raised in the current report, I feel that we should all assist widely in carrying out the tasks raised aimed at improving the moral-political atmosphere in the republic.

The Editor of the newspaper **KOMMUNIST**, **B.M. Mkrtchyan**, had the following comments:

Restructuring is not easy to carry out, he said, and numerous questions and problems of the economy, social policy and ideology still await a broader analysis and practical implementation. All of this and, of course, the decisions of the 19th Party Conference oblige us at present to be maximally frank in our judgments about the current political moment.

Currently we are not satisfied and are disconcerted by the rather low intellectual and cultural level of the ideological workers on the rayon and city level, by the extremely irrational situation existing in the sphere of preparing and indoctrinating the personnel, by the noticeably slower pace of development in our society and the extended decline in the area of the theater and cinematography. All of this is the result of the fact that we do not have a well thought-out, comprehensive and long-term program of actions in the area of ideological work, that is, international indoctrination and internal national life, a program which would be widely known and shared by the broad aktiv of communists and nonparty persons as well as workers of mental labor. The leading figures of science and culture, literature and art must be involved in working out such a program. We have not had such a practice of working out broad political programs. The Central Committee leadership during all these years has not even created a viable service of sociological research and the study of public opinion.

For us generally it has been characteristic to avoid any experiments in the economic and social sphere, not to note the development of negative trends and to pigeon-hole the solving of painful questions in the hope that they might disappear. But on the spot, in the creative organizations, the institutions of learning and the large collectives, passions are roiling as here they are waiting for active and business-like intervention from above which has not come. Thus, a gap has been noted between word and deed and thus arose the alienation of the creative collectors and the prominent representatives of the intelligentsia from the republic's ideological leadership.

Our misfortunes in ideological work also stem from the fact that in recruiting the cadres of political workers we have ceased valuing the individual and we have ceased spotting persons who are intellectually developed and have broad renown. We have long had the impression that the former First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, K. Demirchyan, was often guided

by very understated criteria in promoting various comrades to very responsible, key positions. In this sense, we cannot help but recognize the valid criticism addressed to the Cultural Section of the Armenian CP Central Committee in the article by G. Milikyants "Take a Look and Understand" published in the newspaper **IZVESTIYA**.

And what criteria were being followed in the Central Committee Buro, when they appointed to the post of first secretary in the largest agroindustrial Razdanskiy Rayon, S. Daniyelyan, a person who did not possess in any way enough experience in party or economic work?

The Central Committee should give particular attention to the recruitment and placement of cadres on the municipal and rayon level in order to exclude any attempts to appoint persons to leading positions because of personal loyalty, for being persons from the same area or even merely for providing "special services." And here we must also not discard the notorious law of "grayness," when a superior chief chooses his cadres who are a cut below him. It is all well and good if such a chief has the stature of a knight and a good head. But what if this is the reverse? Thus, in the nomenklature reserve there appear impotent persons who have no prospects for growth.

We frequently say a great deal about the role of the press under the conditions of restructuring and demand from it principled and serious actions disclosing the various difficulties and paradoxes in the labor collectives and in the activities of our departments and ministries. But what happens? A majority of our most serious and spectacular publications remain a voice howling in the wilderness.

Our newspaper has repeatedly raised the question of the state of affairs in the republic VUZes. The extremely low level of training the students at the Armenian Pedagogical Institute has been repeatedly subjected to concrete criticism, the question of the need for a sharp reduction in the number of students in the pedagogical VUZes and their affiliates has been repeatedly established and the question has been raised of the advisability of the further functioning of the affiliates of the Yerevan polytechnical institute. Neither the republic gosplan, the Council of Ministers or the Section for Science and Institutions of Learning under the Central Committee has made this painful question raised by the newspaper a matter of serious discussion.

Generally speaking, I should say that the condescending attitude of the superior levels to the actions by the newspapers on "worker subjects" is only the putting on of a good face. Groups then silent about our articles on the problems of the VUZes or the Idzhevan terraces where millions of rubles have been immured without return or on the questions of the brucellosis infestation of an enormous number of our farms and even entire rayons? Certainly these and other similar articles evoked

a broad response among the public. And because an unambiguously firm decision must be taken on each of these and the specific guilty parties named.

I recall the sharply negative response of K. Demirchyan to the article "How Many Engineers Are Needed?" This raised the valid question of the need to put an end to the overproduction of engineers, many of whom are presently employed in a completely non-engineer job. The prestige of the engineer profession is declining, at the Yerevan Polytechnical Institute the competition is insignificant and we continue to be concerned with the full teaching loads of the VUZ instructors.

What has happened with our articles on construction questions? Almost nothing has been done! For several years, we have conducted the campaign "Zlobin Workers—For the Nearly Completed Projects!" Not a single leader of the construction complex nor the Section for Construction and the Municipal Economy under the Central Committee has supported this line of the newspaper. The editors of KoMMUNIST have repeatedly raised the question of placing strict demands on the project leaders for criminal inferior workmanship on the job. At present, we have had to demolish or carry out a major reconstruction on more than 350 of the four- and more story buildings in Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan, Spitak and other cities built over the last 2 decades. These and other disorders were recently taken up by us in the article "A Crack." But what has been the result? Again nothing. Who is responsible for all of this? The republic procurator's office has not brought a single criminal case against the bad builders and the Section for Construction and the Municipal Economy under the Central Committee here does not hold a principled position. In vain were our efforts to shed light on the situation involving major theft at the Yerkommunstroy [Yerevan Municipal Construction] Trust, where only the executors were sitting on the bench of the defendants.

For a long time there has been red tape over the question of thefts at a kolkhoz in the village of Aboyan in Artashatskiy Rayon. The investigation on this case has lasted 4 years and there have been 4 investigators. The raykom has taken half-hearted decisions, since the First Secretary Z. Gevorkyan has not posed the question point-blank to the procurator's office. The newspaper did this for him and itself raises the question of why the thieves succeeded in avoiding punishment and remain in the ranks of the CPSU. What sort of order is this?

Or the scandalous history involving the former chairman of the Spitakskiy RAPO, A. Lambaryan? After the article "Permissiveness," there began such a hubbub that the editors had to defend themselves on all sides. Finally, truth triumphed and the newspaper's article was recognized as just. But the editors did not receive a reply on the final solution to the question.

We, the workers of the press, are well aware that without the constant aid of the Central Committee and without the constant business-like ties of the newspaper with its sections, major results in restructuring the mass information media cannot be achieved. Over the last 10 years I do not recall 10 instances when the Central Committee sections (with the exception of the Section for Trade and Domestic Services) took an interest in the newspaper or proposed articles on one or another subject. I do not recall instances when the leading workers of the Central Committee personnel upon their own initiative appeared in the press. At the same time the efficiency of their articles is extremely high and beneficial for the question of restructuring. Hence, something is impeding this. Possibly the Central Committee sections are not free of a departmental principle in their work?

At present, it seems beneficial and necessary for us to have the print bodies of the Central Committee participate in preparing the most important questions to be reviewed by the Central Committee Buro. The buro sessions must be preceded by the publishing of articles on various aspects of the question to be studied, thereby providing glasnost and preparing ideological support for the forthcoming decision. We realize that such a practice might seem unusual. But the new times must be considered and we must boldly proceed to new decisions in the sphere of party organizational work.

The party press organ is the extension of the same party committee and for this reason there must be constant business-like contacts and open, frank relations free of any superior snobism and the tactics of holding the newspaper at a "suitable distance." For instance, I might say that the editor of the republic party newspaper and the Central Committee member this year did not see the first secretary more than two or three times.

The secretaries for ideology did not show us any particular attention. Suffice it to say that not one of them visited our newspaper more than one or two times. Among certain leading workers there is also the opinion that the press organ of the Central Committee is subordinate to any subdivision of its personnel. Probably under the sway of such an illusion, the head of the Culture Section under the Armenian CP Central Committee, N. Yesayan, summoned our co-worker and threatened him with a wiggling for the article "Hello, We Are Looking for Talents." The head of the Sector for Physical Culture and Sports under the Armenian CP Central Committee, F. Mkrtchyan, conducted an investigation with zeal on the article concerning instances of protectionism in the Armenian Goskomsport [State Committee for Sports and Physical Culture], while the newspaper PRAVDA by its article "Criticism Under the Heel" did not dampen his ardor.

Why are we mentioning all of this today? Because we wish to rid ourselves of the old incrustations which formed over the years of work under conditions of

stagnation. The collectives of our newspapers and journals have also not avoided this incrustation. Along with individual successes, in our newspaper work there are many major shortcomings. In contrast to the central press, many republic, kray and oblast newspapers have adapted their work extremely slowly. This was mentioned at the 19th Party Conference by M.S. Gorbachev.

Lastly, the newspaper KOMMUNIST recently published under the heading "To the Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee" the reader letters in which the authors and enterprise collectives raised the question of convening a republic party conference or an extraordinary session at the start of the coming year to work out a serious political program conforming to the course of restructuring. The authors also raised the question of the partial renewal of the Central Committee membership by secret balloting. We feel that these proposals are worthy of our discussion.

Also speaking was the First Deputy Chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Republic Gosagroprom, V.M. Movsisyan.

The report by the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan, he said, has provided a principled assessment of the extremely complex situation existing in the republic, the negative processes, unsolved problems in the economy and the social sphere, in the moral and ideological situation, and the deformations in internal party life and cadre policy. Regardless of individuals, the activities of all ranks of cadres in the ministries and departments and all levels of the party committees were justly and honestly subjected to acute criticism. The spirit of today's discussion is very important and very beneficial.

The report of S.G. Arutyunyan thoroughly analyzed the political and economic aspects of implementing the Food Program, it disclosed serious shortcomings and set out the main directions for increasing the efficiency of the agroindustrial complex.

In actuality, the situation in this sector of the republic economy remains tense, there are major shortcomings and unresolved problems and the phenomena of stagnation are obvious in it.

The state of affairs in the republic agroindustrial complex [APK] shows that the Gosagroprom, the ministries and departments comprising the APK, a majority of the party raykoms and the executive committees of the local soviets have shown irresponsibility and complacency flourishing against a background of ostentation and glorification, exaggeration of accomplishments, an uncritical assessment of results, and the concealing of shortcomings which occurred in recent years.

The deformation of cadre policy of the Armenian CP Central Committee and its former leadership also existed in the sectors of the APK. Here also there has

been protectionism, nepotism, the shifting of the cadres of leading workers and specialists along the horizontal as well as other violations and distortions in the party principle of preparing, recruiting and placing the cadres.

In reporting on the shortcomings in the republic APK system, one cannot help but admit that all responsibility for what has been said rests primarily on me, as the chairman of Gosagroprom, and I completely accept the criticism directed against me as voiced in the report. The responsibility for the state of affairs must also be accepted by the deputy chairmen and the other leaders of the Gosagroprom. We must multiply our efforts in order in the near future to achieve a fundamental change in a spirit of the demands of the present plenum.

The legitimate question arises of why in possessing a sufficient production potential, enormous experience as a farmer, progressive scientific institutions and personnel and a developed industry, the republic for an extended time has not been able to fundamentally improve the food supply for the public.

For long years no direct and concrete reply was given to these questions. Instead of this, for years there were the appeals to "raise the harvest yield of the crops and productiveness of the livestock, and make better use of the land and water," but nevertheless there was no proper return. Thus, what is the main reason for this?

The reason is that the organizational changes in agriculture were carried out very frequently and unsoundly, they concerned only the upper levels without touching upon the essence of production relations in the countryside. It is essential to recognize that the existing production relations had become a brake in the development of the productive forces in agricultural production. Like it or not, there was a process of the alienation of the peasantry from the land and a process of emancipation. Alienated from his land and from the distribution of what had been produced, he was turned from a manager into the executor of commands. As a result, the grain raiser was persecuted, unprotected and stunned. The land was as unprotected as the grain raiser himself. Is this not the main reason why under the conditions of the small size of the republic, in comparison with 1940, the area of plowed lands in 1987 had declined by 102,000 hectares, hayfields by 17,000 and pastures by 525,000 hectares. Instead of overcoming the alienation of the peasant from the land, from his home and home locale, we were concerned with infinite experimentation. Moreover, the timid attempts to return the peasant to the land were considered to be a flagrant violation of the principles of socialism. At the same time, the sale of national wealth abroad for foreign exchange and the purchasing overseas of food with this foreign exchange became part of the concept of developed socialism.

The main principle of socialism should be greater prosperity for the people.

This can be achieved only by a fundamental change in economic relations in the countryside. In this sense the key link in modern agrarian policy is rightly considered to be the broad and ubiquitous introduction of lease and other effective forms of organizing and encouraging labor.

The first steps in this direction have already been taken. Regardless of all the imperfection of prices and price formation, and this is a substantial inhibiting factor, leasing will provide a radical effect. However, as was pointed out in the report, here there still is much formalism, flagrant violations of contractual obligations, and confusion on the question of wages. Here the direct blame lies with the corresponding subdivisions of Gosagroprom, the party, soviet and economic bodies on the spot.

Why with the transition to leasing are we still marking time and a large portion of the land, livestock and orchards have still not been turned over to their true masters? In our view, there are two reasons for this. The first is the fact that over the many years of stagnation and the command methods of leadership, people completely lost confidence in the assertions which had been made rather often before that all the "transformations" in the countryside derived from their immediate interests.

The other and possibly the main reason consists in the fact that it was advantageous for the leaders and specialists of the farms and the middle-level workers to support this mistrust. Certainly they felt that the ground would be literally cut from beneath their feet if the peasant became the actual master of the land. For this reason, no measures were taken to establish the lease or family contract. This was conscious resistance to the changes occurring in the countryside. We must decisively put an end to this and in the near future introduce these progressive forms of farming on all the farms. The Gosagroprom workers must not order people about but rather organize extensive training for all levels of personnel and help them clear up everything, weigh things and become convinced of the advantages of the lease. Any attempts by the local leaders to tie up a lease contract in red tape should be strictly condemned.

According to the assignment of the Armenian CP Central Committee, Gosagroprom carefully studied the state of land utilization, particularly the fine-contoured lands, land with difficult terrain, unsuitable land and so forth.

The opportunities for small forms of agricultural production are not being fully utilized.

The Gosagroprom has prepared a proposal in the aims of putting inefficiently used lands into agricultural use and restoring the previously eliminated villages, to turn over to the citizens for unlimited use the designated lands for creating individual farms and cooperatives with the right of inheriting the land tenure.

As always, here there are numerous opponents. But their arguments that supposedly this is a retreat from the principles of socialism are invalid. We might ask what is bad in having Soviet farmers. Certainly socialism should precisely disclose the capabilities of each and grant him freedom of action and freedom of creativity. Ultimately this will provide additional food resources and this is the main thing. In our opinion, cooperatives should be concerned with both the production, processing and sale of the products grown on their farm and not purchase agricultural raw materials from the state resources and sell products at the high cooperative prices.

Comrades! Over the last year, the republic Gosagroprom has done certain work in developing private subsidiary farms.

However, the neglectful attitude toward the private subsidiary farms is continuing. In light of the demands of the current plenum, the Gosagroprom, together with the RIK [Rayon Executive Committee] must in the shortest time review and resolve all questions related to ensuring further development of the private farm so that this year each rural family, including the young ones, can be given a sufficient amount of land, young livestock and poultry, feed and feed lands.

There is one other reserve for increasing the food resources. This is a question of collective orchard raising. There have been more than enough decisions relating to the development of this. However, the Armenian Council of Ministers, the Gosagroprom, the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms have not instilled proper order in this important matter. Quite often there has been bureaucracy, irresponsibility and red tape on the question of assigning and organizing the development of these territories.

At present, effective measures are being taken to fully provide the republic population with plots for collective orchard raising on better territories.

The city and rayon soviets must effectively resolve all questions related to the organizing of collective orchardry.

There have been more than enough eloquent words at various meetings and sessions of the party, soviet and economic bodies on the question of the social development of the countryside. However, the social infrastructure of the countryside is in a neglected state and the demographic situation continues to remain alarming.

Over the last 50 years, in one way or another, the countryside has disintegrated and its way of life formed over many centuries has broken down. Many villages do not have improved roads, drinking and irrigation water, sewage, fuel sources and social and domestic facilities. All of this has led to the destabilization of the villages and the migration of the rural population to the towns and rayon centers. The countryside is growing older and

in fact the city in essence has absorbed gratis from the countryside virtually all the productive and intellectual forces. In a word, the city has gotten on its feet due to the countryside. This process is continuing now. All of this can be corrected and restored only by decisive measures. First of all, it is essential to immediately revise investment policy for capital investments in favor of the countryside. The time has come when the city and industry should fully repay their debt to the countryside. It is also essential to revise the program for the development and placement of the republic productive forces and the general schemes for the development of the cities in the aim of halting the mechanical increase in the population of the cities and rayon centers.

Regardless of the certain work done, restructuring is occurring slowly in the Gosagroprom. The problems which have built up to a significant degree have arisen out of the primitive style of our work.

Our immediate task is to decisively give up the command methods of leadership and to free initiative on the spot.

Upon instructions of the Armenian CP Central Committee, the Gosagroprom has begun to carry out a concrete, specific program to radically improve the food supply for the republic population. It is very difficult to carry out this task quickly. We have been too long under the sway of the phenomena of stagnation. The time of parade speeches and rosy assurances is over. At present, concrete results are expected from us and real deeds are demanded. The question has been firmly put: either the people responsible for their specific area of work in ensuring the fulfillment of the Food Program will be concerned with their duties or surrender their place to those who can carry out this complicated and responsible job more successfully.

The realistic, sober and business-like political course of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the realization of the fundamental measures in the ideological, economic and moral areas have established an atmosphere of confidence and optimism everywhere. The efforts of each communist and each republic worker and our daily, painstaking and patriotic activities should be aimed at the successful development of this course and at achieving the desired results. We see the sense and content of our work precisely in this.

Amasiyskiy Rayon has never excelled in high economic indicators, said the First Secretary of the Amasiyskiy Armenian CP Raykom, G.N. Gasanov.

Our greatest victory has been the friendship of the two peoples which has developed over the years and has become customary. However, recent events, to a significant degree, have obscured this. The improper action carried out by the former secretary of the party raykom, I. Bagirov, at the very moment when the entire aktiv for many months had been doing everything to preserve a

normal situation in the raykom became a major testing for all the rayon's communists and workers. During these days we suffered heavy economic and moral losses. The industrial enterprises stood idle for many days, the livestock raisers and crop raisers were not working, and the loss of population from the rayon increased sharply. I would like to say frankly that during the days of the Karabakh events, the Azerbaijan population in the republic was not so much threatened as at times this has been portrayed. Many left their homes, using this only as a pretext. It is sad to say that precisely the communists, the leading workers, including the party leaders, left. This, of course, is a bitter lesson for us and correct conclusions must be drawn from it. At present, the party raykom considers it its task to show serious concern for the matter of recruiting and indoctrinating the cadres.

The Buro of the party raykom discussed the developing situation and worked out practical measures to improve the moral and psychological atmosphere in the rayon. However, the moral losses suffered in June will be difficult to recover.

Our other problems are linked to the capital investment volume. In comparison with the 11th Five-Year Plan, in the 12th they will almost be cut in half. The mechanized construction columns have been eliminated. Presently there is only one self-financing construction section in operation and this is carrying out work valued at just 1,041,000 rubles. The rayon does not have a normal road network and of the 512 km of road, only 3.8 km have been asphalted.

Even now the question has not been resolved of building a standard structure for the shop of the mechanization and electrification enterprise of the RAPO [Rayon Agroindustrial Association], although the corresponding design specifications have long existed. We are hopeful that the republic Gosagroprom, finally, will resolve this important question concerning the rayon's equipment operators and crop raisers.

The good weather conditions of the current year have made it possible to grow a good crop. There are prerequisites for overfulfilling the plan quotas for the procurement of hay, haylage, silage, straw as well as for developing a dependable feed supply for the further development of livestock raising. However, we have not been able to carry out effective work to use the existing opportunities and reserves. The RAPO as well as the individual farm leaders ignore the importance and necessity of converting to full economic accountability and financing, the collective and lease contract, the introduction of the methods for intense rearing of livestock as well as improving breeding. This must explain the fact that in 1987, 15 out of the 18 rayon kolkhozes and sovkhoses operated inefficiently. For many years, the per hectare yield has remained low in the rayon, and irrigation water and fertilizers are poorly utilized.

At first glance, all of this appears to be a consequence of only weak, unintelligent farming activity. But here, in my view, one can also feel the negative impact of another factor—the unsatisfactory party organizational and ideological work. I moved into party work from production. In working directly on a farm, I saw that the raykom was only concerned with the economic indicators and was little interested in the questions of a sociocultural nature and spiritual life which so concerned the workers. In endeavoring to eliminate these gaps in the activity of the raykom, our workers and the party aktiv are now evermore frequently in the field, they listen to the requests and proposals of the people and seek out solutions to the social and domestic questions. This has also been aided by the reports and elections which are presently being held in the primary party organizations.

It must be said that we have not been able to resolve all the questions raised by the communists. At the 28th Armenian CP Congress and the subsequent Central Committee plenums, the Amasiyskiy Rayon Party Organization was sharply criticized 19 times for the lag in restructuring, for low indicators in the production of agricultural products and for unsatisfactory work in the social, cultural and ideological spheres. Scarcely no other organization has come under such a fire of criticism, but what has been changed by this? Should not our lag certainly be of interest to the leaders of the ministries and departments in the republic, the section heads and the secretaries of the Central Committee? If any of the republic leaders had visited Amasiyskiy Rayon, this was only in the last 5 months and for well known reasons.

Over the least 3 years—I have in mind the period of restructuring—we have not been visited by the ministers of domestic services, culture, motor road construction, the municipal economy and local industry, the chairman of the Akoop Board and their deputies. If they had, the difficult tasks confronting the rayon could have been solved.

On 26 December 1986, the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee examined the question "On the Work of the Amasiyskiy Rayon Party Organization in Carrying Out the Demands of the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee on the Report of the Armenian Republic Party Organization." The decree ordered the republic Gosplan and Gosagroprom by the end of the first half of 1986 to submit for approval to the Armenian Council of Ministers a "Comprehensive Program for the Socioeconomic Development of Amasiyskiy Rayon Up to the Year 2000." However, for reasons unknown to us, the implementation of this program has constantly been put off. And I am surprised why the Armenian CP Central Committee has not shown consistency in carrying out its own decree?

Speaking was the Chairman of the board of the Armenian Writers' Union, **R.K. Ovanesyan**.

Restructuring is a revolution in thought and action, he said, and the period of restructuring has disclosed in our reality a multiplicity, I would say, an infinite multiplicity, of dramatic situations. The Stalinist bloodshed and the Brezhnev selfless ecstasy has been replaced by the difficult concern of renewal. Not everybody is capable of calmly bearing the burden of this concern.

The events in the NKAO became a higher manifestation of the drama of restructuring. The severe but still treatable social tuberculosis, economic rheumatism, political shortsightedness, ideological fever and cadre illness but much more severe and hard to cure was the cancer of internationality relations. It had to be treated by methods still unknown to medicine and be operated on so skillfully that it would not provide new metastases. The Karabakh awakening and movement were a complete surprise for many. This was an area forgotten with teeth clinched in silence from pain and grief and about which the intelligentsia of our nation knows absolutely nothing. Some thought that this was a completely separate land belonging to some third people while others assumed that this was an island in the Caspian Sea. Then the steadfast, industrious and purposeful people of Karabakh rose to their feet, inspired by the ideas of restructuring, armed with the slogans put forward by the new party course, referring to the humane, just Leninist principles which were being followed by the leader of our party, Comrade Gorbachev, and expressed their dream which they had cherished for decades. We, the writers, wrote a great deal about this, we telegraphed, spoke and pointed out and now there is no need for me nor indeed an opportunity to report the facts known to all.

During the Stalinist absolutism and the subsequent voluntarism, there had been another inexplicable phenomenon. Jean Jaures said that we should take the flames from the past and not the ashes. However, for years and decades we endeavored to take from this past some sparks and—alas!—everything remained under the newly cooled lava. I ascribe this to the caprices and whims of all our previous leaders and partially to their instinct for self-preservation. It is a question of a just and persuasive assessment of a number of political parties, political events, political and literary figures. Even in the history textbooks of the Stalinist period, and not to mention the historical works written in the fraternal socialist countries, their authors showed respect and awareness for the history of the liberation struggle of the small peoples and to the question of an objective assessment of the parties, leaders and writers who were involved in this struggle, commenting on both their positive and negative aspects, the valuable and harmful results of their struggle. We say and repeat the ancient biblical admonishment: The truth, the truth and nothing but the truth. The Bulgarian, Serbian, Macedonian, Albanian, Greek, Arab and Kurdish revolts against the Ottoman yoke, the Italian, Hungarian and Czech revolts against the Austrian Empire are considered progressive, their participants and leaders are considered revolutionaries and I am always indignant that when the question

arises of the much-suffering Armenian people, the historians sit there as if with their mouth full, avoiding a complete and detailed analysis of history. Why do we speak about the hajdaks and fidais [fighters against the Turkish yoke] in a whisper and looking around, at times even defame them, while these same people both in the capitalist and socialist countries are given a serious historical treatment and political encouragement, monuments and kind words? But did not we, the Armenians, in our noble, bloody struggle against the powerful suppressors work for the same goals as the Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, Poles and Italians in the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries? The founders of Marxism repeatedly turned to these movements and left clear methodological guidelines for us. However, the specter of Armenian nihilism, Armenian timidity, the limited Armenian dogmatism, the Armenian political philistinism always raises its head and impedes this matter or in the extreme instance whispers scarcely audibly: "Be careful, all of a sudden, as you know, somewhere, all at once, you will meet your match, they will wring your neck." Amazing, bitter and inadmissible!

Two examples from the area of literature. Many of us know the fate of the books "Andranik" of Sero Khanzadyan and "Saradarapat" by Bagrat Ulubabyan. Both books were reviewed by well-known specialists, ideologists, and both seemingly were set for printing, but were turned over to the indifference of higher bodies. Why, I ask you? Really, in these novels were there dark spots, or let us put it more correctly, blank spots? Certainly our times are stubbornly and irreversibly eliminating these dark spots or blank spots. It is strange. The people praise "Andranik," and the documents eloquently show his democracy, internationalism, his Soviet and Russian orientation and his loyalty to Soviet Armenia and then suddenly there is this stony indifference. Can it really be because of the malicious comment by the discredited party and state leader Geydar Aliyev to whom Mar I.Kh. Bagramyan gave a worthy and fine reply?

And how can one understand that the school children who are interested or the guests visiting Armenia are shown a truly people's monument, the Saradarapat Memorial Complex and here we hand out meager information to them while the novel about the Saradarapat Engagement has long been written and is waiting to be published?

One other problem. The liberty-loving wind of restructuring bears to us a new assessment of previous and not only previous values.

Why do we, in faithfully following the Russian people in everything, in following their example, show such a negligent attitude toward our own history, in skipping over, for example, the famous Demirchyan (I mean Derenik Demirchyan) harsh but truthful pamphlet "The Armyanin"? For a long time, the Armenian writers have said and demanded the restoration and return to literature and the publishing of Avetis Agaronyan, Nikol

Agbalyan, Levon Shant, Amasteg and the finest works of the writers of the Armenian diaspora Akoop Karapents and Musheg Ishkhan, the books of whom, regardless of the party views of their authors and the politically incorrect steps, embodied the aspirations of the long-suffering Armenian soul, the unheard-of sufferings of the Armenian people, and the democratic aspirations of both these writers themselves as well as the people who fostered them. With the unanimous opinion of the authoritative, informed and well-meaning specialists, is it really impossible to resolve this question once and for all?

In the not distant past in the area of our art, literature and partially our science, a strange, unpleasant and harmful phenomenon arose. In art and literature there was a small elite of individual, autocratic leadership which benefited from the patronage of the superior leadership, its trust and favor. Undoubtedly, friendship and comradeship are high, moral concepts. But they must in no event be abused and they should not become an incentive for subjective, biased or partial undertakings and actions. In the theater of movies, in literature or art, and even in social and state spheres, the will of such leaders determined delicate questions of hiring or nonhiring, a rise or drop in earnings, the awarding of titles, ranks, exhibitions or publications, recognition or oblivion. And even later, inspired by such a situation, the ministers and other officials began to patronize one or another writer, actor, director, sculptor, artist, composer and performer as newly discovered patrons of the arts. This is completely possible and, possibly, even acceptable. But when this is done so vulgarly, so openly and so unjustly, this creates an unhealthy atmosphere of constant embitterment and impotent antagonism. Such a subjective and biased attitude on the part of the superior leadership gave rise to flattery in weak people and outbursts of anger in strong ones. Any leader should be broad-thinking, wide-seeing and, particularly, sober and honest in his milieu, in his collective and in society generally. It is essential to see to it that in the sphere of art, literature and science, the collective itself promotes the candidates, itself determines its place and position, gives them commissions and proposes them for titles and ranks.

I would like to take up one other important question. We are actually changing the toponyms which were imposed at various times on the Armenian country by various conquerors. And although in the process of these changes we at times make dubious discoveries, we more often shown an example of uniformity and monotony. In Russia and elsewhere a major movement has commenced for clarifying and restoring to their rights the proper historical names on the map of the fatherland. Here also we must follow the example of the Russian people. Recently in our republic a new wave developed against the disconcerting opinion according to which in broad daylight they want to belittle, debunk and alter the status of the famous ancient Armenian cities of Ashtarak, Goris, Stepanavan and others and eliminate individual villages. This is unacceptable and shortsighted.

All of us who have been abroad know what tender and considerate care is shown by the states and peoples to the small towns of Europe with their ecologically harmless production, attractive layout, unique architecture, full of flowers and greenery, maintaining their own history and traditions and proud of their famous lands. We must help, develop, embellish and give a worthy appearance to such towns in our lands and not turn them into faceless population points carrying the title of the rayon center.

We are just now endeavoring to escape from the state of expectation, from the opiate of silence, timidity, caution, selfishness and indifference. We must escape from this state, for not only have we been fatigued by the iniquitous paths but have also become disappointed along them. We should emerge from this state together and all at once in the economic, social, psychological and moral area. United and unanimous. We must deepen our faith that the undertaking commenced by us in the not distant future will produce tangible results. Our people who have seen so many disasters and wounds, so much suffering and difficulties and who have lost so much hope and aspirations are worthy ultimately of a better lot and a just fate.

In the report of the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan, said the Armenian Minister of Foreign Affairs, U.S. Arutyunyan, and on the basis of a profound and thorough analysis of the state of affairs in our republic in light of the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the July (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, program goals have been outlined for overcoming the phenomena of stagnation in the economy, the social sphere and for improving the ideological and moral situation.

In the crime prevention support for these tasks an important role is played by the republic internal affairs bodies. The carrying out of them is largely determined by the fulfillment of the party's thesis that an uncompromising struggle must be waged against any forms of crime and there must be a tangible strengthening of law and order. The sharp criticism heard in the report addressed against us is valid and completely reflects the real state of affairs and necessitates a fundamental revision of all the organizational and practical activities of the internal affairs bodies.

Over the period since the 27th CPSU Congress, the necessary prerequisites have been created for decisively intensifying the struggle against crime and other negative manifestations. At present, it must be stated that the republic internal affairs bodies have made poor use of these opportunities and have not provided a level of work which would meet the demands placed as well as the spirit of restructuring and the recently noted trend for a drop in the crime rate has been the result primarily of those measures which were adopted by the party after the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The contribution to this undertaking by the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] bodies has remained low

and does not correspond to the existing favorable conditions related to the increased civil activeness of the workers and their full support for the party line of strengthening order, discipline and organization.

Complacency, indifference, a simplistic approach to analyzing and assessing the work results and based, as a rule, on the figures of naked statistics, a low level of supervision and exactingness on subordinates as yet are characteristic of the work style of a majority of the rayon and municipal internal affairs bodies and their leaders and this prevents us from promptly spotting the negative processes and trends in the developing situation, and to anticipate the essential shortcomings in day-to-day service activities. Many tasks in preventing and investigating crimes are being carried out unsatisfactorily, particularly crimes against the private property of citizens, the number of which has risen in the current year. Each year, one-quarter of the thefts of personal property go unsolved and around 40 percent of the committed apartment thefts remains unsolved and in essence creates an atmosphere of impunity among criminal elements and causes a feeling of legitimate indignation among the public. There has not been an effective struggle against recidivist crime as well as drug abuse and parasitism.

At present, for providing concrete, practical aid to the city and rayon internal affairs bodies with low indicators of solving crime, groups of co-workers from the republic Directorate of Criminal Investigation are being organized and sent out in the field.

Comrades! Among the diversity of tasks confronting the internal affairs bodies at the given stage there is particular emphasis on the need to organize a decisive struggle against such dangerous manifestations of the psychology of parasitism and consumerism as theft, the receiving of unearned income, bribery and speculation.

It must be said directly that the republic MVD has not provided aggressiveness in combating these negative phenomena and particularly bribery. In a number of areas of life, bribery and extortion have become widespread. Not without reason among the public the conviction has become deep-rooted that at present many questions involving the interests of the citizens as well as the interests of institutions and organizations cannot be settled without a bribe. Against the unfavorable background of such a situation, those results which we have in combating this dangerous manifestation of crime as yet are meager. Each year not more than 100 persons as an average are caught in bribery but this is far from reflecting the actual picture. Here a majority of them, these bribe-takers and evil extortionists are unsatisfactorily exposed.

The internal affairs bodies can combat the designated complex, from the viewpoint of detectability, evil only under the condition of a decisive restructuring of the

day-to-day investigatory activities of the BKhSS [combating theft of socialist property and speculation] personnel in relying on the working masses, and we are carrying out the appropriate work in this area.

Many of the internal affairs subdivisions have given little consideration to the qualitatively new demands to ensure the protection of public property as caused by the conversion of the enterprises to cost accounting, the covering of costs and self-financing and by the altered approaches to evaluating socialist entrepreneurship in organizing the fight against unearned income. The work done in this area by the BKhSS personnel is often carried out unsystematically, in isolation from the processes actually occurring in the economy. We have not escaped from the discredited principle of evaluating the activities of the BKhSS Service from the number of discovered crimes, including insignificant ones the share of which is great. This has an extremely negative effect upon the efficiency of its work.

For this and a number of other reasons, primarily those resting directly on the professional and personal qualities of our co-workers, we as yet have not had tangible results in thwarting the widespread organized, group thefts, in detecting the schemers and wheeler-dealers who for an extended time have been operating with impunity in the sphere of the so-called "shadow" economy. At present a portion of these unmasked scoundrels is investing their illegal gains in dubious enterprises operating beneath the cover of cooperatives and this creates a favorable basis for the intertwining of the criminal element with the large embezzlers of socialist property. Proceeding from the true situation, a decision has been adopted in the republic MVD to set up a special subdivision for combating organized crime and the tasks and functions of this certainly will have definite specific features.

We are aware that for improving the efficiency of work done by the internal affairs bodies in combating selfish crimes and other abuses, it is essential first of all to fundamentally reorganize the work of the BKhSS Service and increase the responsibility of the leaders of the rayon and city bodies for its results.

For these purposes in the immediate future we will certify the BKhSS workers who for a long time have had poor indicators in their work and we will decisively get rid of those who have sullied themselves and who have shown irresponsibility and unsoundness in their work.

During the current year, the internal affairs bodies have worked under the conditions of a complex daily situation brought about by the well-known events in the NKAO and around it and this, of course, has reflected on the results of organizing the fight against crime. At the same time, these events disclosed a number of major shortcomings in our activities. Under emergency conditions,

the internal affairs bodies showed slowness and indecisiveness and did not always promptly disclose and hold responsible instigators, rabble-rousers and other persons committing illegal actions.

Comrades! The flaws of the past which have lasted for years have left their imprint also on personnel policy, indoctrinational work in the ministry system while the lack of constant supervision and exactingness in the field has given rise among a portion of the co-workers of a feeling of omnipotence, an indifferent attitude toward others and often instead of serving the interests of the people and protecting them against criminal encroachments by criminal elements, wheeler-dealers and self-seekers, at times by their inactivity, have abetted them. An inattentive attitude toward the legitimate requests and appeals of the citizens, an antistate practice of sheltering crimes and violations of socialist legality from the record, as well as instances of extortion and bribetaking have evoked indignation among the public. Over the past period of this year alone, 8 have been condemned and 113 co-workers have been dismissed from the bodies for discrediting the title of MVD worker.

In speaking about the work of selecting, placing and indoctrinating the personnel, one cannot help but point out that in this important area we have overlooked such an aspect as the representation of persons of nonindigenous nationality in the MVD personnel generally and in the leadership element, in particular. This failing of our has particularly made itself felt in the period of the well-known events in areas with a mixed population.

The designated shortcomings have largely been brought about by an imperfect style and method of work in directing the subordinate subdivisions by the central personnel as well as the unsatisfactory implementation of the organization and supervisory functions of its services.

At present, one of the main tasks requiring daily and painstaking work is seen by us in creating in each collective a healthy moral and psychological situation, an atmosphere of principledness, high exactingness, objectivity in assessing the activities of the co-workers and creating conditions which would exclude deception, lies, time serving and would cause a need for subordinates to state the truth and a need on the part of the leaders to accept it. Here we see an indispensable condition in establishing glasnost in our affairs particularly in settling personnel questions.

The collectives, the political personnel and party organizations of the internal affairs bodies are aimed at this. The designated questions are at the center of attention of the report and election meetings presently being held in the primary party organizations.

The internal affairs bodies are oriented at broadening contacts with the community and daily reliance on the public in their work. Forms are being sought for more

effective consideration of proposals and complaints from the workers. In these aims they have organized around-the-clock operation of the MVD reception offices and for those unable to come in person we have assigned additional telephone lines which will be announced through the mass information media.

Comrades! The tasks of decisively strengthening the fight against crime and infractions which were particularly emphasized at the 19th Party Conference demand from us a mobilizing of all available capabilities. I will spare neither effort, forces or time to carry this out.

Speaking was the First Secretary of the Leninakan Armenian CP Gorkom, M.L. Mkrtchyan.

The serious shortcomings, errors and omissions noted at the plenum, he said, are also characteristic of the Leninakan municipal party organization. We are endeavoring to find new approaches to strengthening ties with the masses, we are activating our dialogue with the people while the initiating of an impartial and open criticism has made it possible to more clearly see our flaws causing dissatisfaction among the workers and detect weak points in the work of various spheres of daily life. However, it must be pointed out that the work done does not satisfy us.

The gorkom and the party raykoms as well as many primary party organizations at present have not gone sufficiently into the essence of the negative phenomena which have put down roots in the economy and ideological sphere and they have assumed a passive position in disclosing the reasons for violation of party principles. They still have not been able to find a correct way out of the existing situation and this has had an extremely negative effect upon socioeconomic development and ensuring dynamic growth of the city and has led to undesirable consequences.

Over the past period of the current year, the gap in capital construction has been over 4 million rubles, the plans for commodity turnover and trade were not fulfilled by some 6 million rubles and the quotas were not met for consumer services to the public. Not enough attention has been given to strengthening the physical plant in public education. Over the last 7 years, the city has not built a single new school building and this has been under conditions where new housing developments have been built with a population of thousands.

One out of 3 of the 21 industrial enterprises operating under self-financing conditions has failed to meet the contractual obligations and the profit plans, respectively, by 3 and 4 million rubles. What sort of profit could there be if the same enterprises over the 7 months of the current year had paid over 5 million rubles in penalties for nonfulfillment of contractual obligations and the production of poor-quality products? What has led to such a situation?

A significant portion of the economic leaders continues to remain infatuated by the results achieved at the given moment, it waits for orders from above and on the spot does not make sufficient use of the potentials of engineer thought. At present, many engineers have been forced to work as workers or do not have any employment while in the city almost one-third of the engineer jobs is held by persons not having the appropriate education. Some 30-40 percent of the directors and chief engineers of the enterprises and around one-half of the deputy directors for education and specialties do not meet the requirements of the positions held. Why, for example, with over 2,000 specialists available do we often find difficulties in filling the leading engineer positions? An important role has also been played by the unsatisfactory attitude of the economic leaders and party organizations at the enterprises to the specialists first coming into production. For this reason the prestige of an engineer diploma has declined.

The gorkom, the raykoms and the primary party organizations are not actively carrying out the party's economic policy. A formal approach is apparent to introducing the new management mechanism. It has reached a point where the enterprise operates under self-financing conditions but there is not a single brigade operating on cost accounting there. And this is also the reason that there has been no major change in the economic development of Leninakan.

It is unacceptable that under these conditions the activating of the human factor has not been viewed as an important lever in carrying out the tasks raised. Due to the low exactingness of the party gorkom and the raykoms, major errors and miscalculations have been permitted in the activities of the local authorities and the crime prevention bodies. There have been numerous instances of bribery, speculation, the theft of socialist property, infractions and so forth. This does harm primarily to us, the party workers, and leads to the formation of a deep gap between our words and deeds.

There are also serious shortcomings and omissions in ideological and political indoctrination work. Here, speaking frankly, we have major shortcomings. A thorough analysis of the situation existing during the current year in Leninakan, the conditions and reasons for their occurrence leads one to the conclusion that many party organizations have become divorced from the working masses and have lessened their influence. The necessary work is not being done on ideological support for restructuring. Ideological and political work in essence is not focused upon an improvement of the ideological and moral atmosphere and strengthening the fight against negative phenomena in the city.

We are particularly concerned by the state of work with the creative intelligentsia. It has not properly focused on increasing the political activeness of the writers, artists and intelligentsia of the city. The close link of the intelligentsia and the workers which should provide the

intellectual development of the city in accord with today's demands in fact has been broken. This was felt also at the recent meeting with the cultural and art workers and held in the party gorkom. The rectification of this situation has presently become a prime task for us.

In this context the problem of setting up a publishing house in the city also assumes particular importance. This question which has been raised for many years has in fact not been settled. And this is not because the question has not been settled economically, but due to the reason, we are firmly convinced, that none of the superior organizations has been interested in the cultural problems of the republic's second largest city. The reasonable question arises: Why is it possible in the comparatively small towns of the republic to establish a good printing facility and publish books and journals, but not in Leninakan? It is surprising, but a fact, that a writer working in Leninakan for months must make his way to Yerevan to publish several of his verses. The other creative workers are in the same situation. Why must it be that all the artists, writers and poets must be born and create solely in Yerevan?

The availability of a publishing house if a vital necessity for the creative growth of the city's numerous intelligentsia. Obviously, this as well as the fact that for years other analogous questions have not been settled are one of the reasons that the representatives of the intelligentsia are abandoning the city and show mistrust in the party and soviet bodies. We must say directly that we have not shown proper attention to them and have not endeavored to resolve the valid questions posed by them. And why is the Central Committee silent?

In order to bring about a decisive change in spiritual, cultural and scientific life in Leninakan, at present it is not enough to have just energy, enthusiasm and local measures. Presently, we must have concrete actions and deeds and a concerned attitude for solving Leninakan's problems. We are obliged to hold the authority of the party word sacred and all the more the authority of the word of the leading bodies of the party and government. But at times we have been subjected to objective criticism by the workers for violating this Leninist principle. What does it seem, for example, when the Armenian CP Central Committee and the republic government up to now have not taken practical steps to carry out their own decree of establishing a scientific center of the republic Academy of Sciences in Leninakan?

Presently, a report and election campaign is underway in the party organizations. It is indicative that in many city organizations, the communists, in being guided by the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the July Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the provisions in the report of M.S. Gorbachev, have shown an impartial and critical attitude in assessing the activities of the party organization, they are discussing problems in a business-like manner, they are conducting a

concerned discussion of the shortcomings, oversights and errors, and they are examining the tasks of increasing the contribution made by each communist to restructuring. The party gorkom and raykoms are endeavoring to further deepen these trends so that each report and election meeting answers the question of whether the given party organization is ready to carry out major changes in the economy and internal party life and by what measures.

Comrades! Proceeding from these ideas, I propose that in 1989 a republic party conference be held in the aims of a scientific elaboration of new approaches in the economy and ideological work and for seeking out ways to implement these in practice.

The Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee not only obliges but also mobilizes and focuses us on assuming an active position in carrying out the posed comprehensive tasks. Only in being guided by this will we be able to set out to realize the tasks confronting us.

The First Secretary of the Krasnoselskiy CPA Raykom, S.A. Nazinyan, said:

I have worked more than 7 years as the first secretary of the party raykom and I have requested 21 times to be given the floor to speak at plenums of the Central Committee or meetings of the party aktiv, but have never once been given this right. Certainly much has built up that I would have liked to say. Had I not been given the floor this time, I intended to submit my previously compiled brief text of the speech to the presidium of the Central Committee plenum.

More than a year has passed since the extremely severe assessment given to our republic party organization at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. I, as a Soviet citizen, a communist and an Armenian, are seriously concerned over where and how that flagrant error was made which led to the current significant complications and difficulties and where is the solution to the created position?

I see this error primarily in the cadre policy carried out. Repeatedly in this room I have turned to this question which is essential for party work, we have given average statistical data and have applauded the quality indicators, overlooking the main thing, namely, to whom we have entrusted and do entrust the leadership of the party organizations and the fate of the workers. For precisely this reason the numerous measures worked out by us in this hall and aimed at strengthening organizational work, the observance of Leninist standards of party life and ensuring the unity of word and deed have remained unfilled and, in many places, distorted.

Recall the words which resounded in 1975 at the January Plenum and have been constantly repeated from this rostrum that "in the republic there should not be any padding and deception" and by all means we must fight

"against the so-called guild members." Do you recall the ardent response and approval they gained in the group and the already few honest cadres and what articles appeared in the newspapers? And the result? The "guild members" gained the upper hand in the economy and social life. The criterion for evaluating the cadres became the support of the Central Committee or compatriot ties. A gray and murky environment was established where sacred feelings and principles surrendered their positions to various sorts of machinations and party work involved persons with a dual morality and who could call black white and white black. I feel that the current plenum should instruct the Central Committee Bureau to conduct an "inventorying" of their activities over the last decades and provide the information to the party aktiv. Without correct information it is impossible to conduct active work with the broad masses of workers at present.

During the "Demirchyan," times what was the state of the people who had acquired knowledge and experience in life and took an exacting attitude toward themselves? They earned the label of "problem-maker," they were constantly pressured and not permitted to work quietly.

For me it is very difficult to say such words about a departed person. However, at many report and election meetings the communists presently are demanding a report on the activities of the Armenian CP Central Committee in the area of directing the restructuring. What can be said in reply? K. Demirchyan has been dismissed; however, no evaluation has been given of his activities. The Karabakh events accelerated and more clearly showed who K. Demirchyan was. The essence of his shortcomings lay in inconsistency and a terrible gap between word and deed.

I feel one of the errors of K. Demirchyan to be that he could not understand people who exposed themselves to danger in order to help him. I am convinced that after the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the most supportive speech was the speech by Gayka Kotandzhyan and again this was incorrectly understood. The "split" Central Committee plenum in last December "condemned" the conduct of G. Kotandzhyan. I propose that we review the decision of the given plenum in terms of G. Kotandzhyan.

Comrades! Let not the impression be created that everything is going fine in Krasnoselsk and for this reason we have the moral right to speak here. There is much to be done in our activities and there are numerous unsolved problems, major errors and oversights. What is preventing us from promptly surmounting the difficulties and conducting an offensive struggle against all undesirable phenomena? There are our own weaknesses and shortcomings which were strongly pointed out at last year's December plenum of the party raykom. And also that we do not receive the necessary aid and support from the Armenian CP Central Committee, and more precisely its personnel.

I do not know how the personnel of the Central Committee and the other superior bodies was recruited. Possibly they followed a "principle" about which I do not have information. However, the republic aktiv does not know many of the apparat workers. I am certain that this time neither the excessive hurry nor the incomprehensible slowness will be shown as was the case before. Moreover, the cadre appointments will not be made with such "personal" aspirations and which are presently condemned by all. However, this does not provide us with grounds to feel that the mistakes and errors in this area will not be made. The entire difficulty is that there is no reserve of cadres and a vacuum has arisen. Due to the artificial interruption in the natural replacement of generations, an entire generation has been lost.

Over the last 3 years, the central press has published a sufficient amount of materials on Armenia and a predominant portion of these corresponds to reality. But the Central Committee Buro and K. Demirchyan and R. Arzumanyan personally in a surprising way did not make the materials printed in *Pravda*, *Izvestiya*, *Sovetskaya kultura* and other newspapers and magazines a matter of special discussion. It turns out that these articles were published merely in order to read them. A similar attitude developed in the party gorkoms and raykoms toward the materials in the republic press.

The well-known Soviet journalist and member of the editorial board of the newspaper IZVESTIYA, Georgiy Melikyants, in several days on an official visit, was able in his article "Look Around and Understand" to reflect those particular facts which starkly described the appearance of the entire republic and show to what protectionism and an incorrect cadre policy can lead. From the facts given in the article I do not agree merely with one thing: in recent years not 10 but many more persons were promoted from Leninskiy Rayon. The republic party aktiv was basically recruited from this rayon which was considered the "sole forge of cadres."

Who is presently working in the Culture Section under the Armenian CP Central Committee? In one of the primary party organizations, I endeavored to make certain that the sector head of this section, and economist by education, A. Dzhazoyan, was presently studying at the art-theater institute to obtain a second specialty. How can he be studying if this institute has neither a correspondence or evening division? It turned out that actually A. Dzhazoyan was a student on the institute's daytime division. It is completely incomprehensible how it is possible to combine study on a daytime division while working in the personnel of the Armenian CP Central Committee. And if this fact is already known in the countryside, what can we say about the authority of the personnel of the Central Committee and its workers? We might wonder what was wrong with the specialty of an economist, if our respected comrade, whom I do not even know, after completing the Yerevan National Economic Institute and 4 years of work as a lab assistant on

the chair of political economy at the Yerevan Polytechnical Institute, in a short period of time became an instructor and then the head of the sector at the Culture Section of the Armenian CP Central Committee, but not due to his talent but rather due to the efforts of "magic forces." Is it possible that among our creative intelligentsia there is no worthy candidate for working in this section?

Many, under the guise of democracy but in actuality under conditions of permissiveness, in every possible way toy with the authority of people, resorting even to inadmissible procedures and remain unpunished. Who has been punished for the debt of over 250,000 rubles carried by the rayon RSU [repair and construction administration] for repairing the building of the Leninskiy Party Raykom. At the same time, during the construction of the 3-story building of our raykom, each day we were warned: "Take care that the estimate does not exceed 650,000."

Comrades! For overcoming the difficulties confronting us under the conditions of restructuring, democracy and glasnost, for strengthening confidence in the party bodies and in light of the demands of the 19th Party Conference, I propose that the question of individuals who have committed major and unforgivable errors in political and economic leadership of the republic, the towns and rayons be discussed in a principled manner, that they be removed from the elective bodies and recalled from the performance of deputy duties, as I do not see any logical sense in the further stay of them in these bodies all the more as in the near future the party committee secretaries at the same time will become the soviet chairmen. In this regard I consider as completely apt the opinion of the communists heard at the recent report and election meetings of the primary party organizations in the rayon to demand that the Central Committee plenum adopt a decision to convene in the near future and extraordinary congress or conference of the Armenian CP or a fundamental renewal of the Central Committee personnel. I am certain that this will evoke the most ardent approval and support from the masses of people and will help carry out the responsible tasks which have been outlined by the current plenum.

The Chairman of the Armenian KNK [People's Control Committee], G.A. Martirosyan, in his speech said:

The Buro report given by the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan, provides a sharp and just assessment of the state of affairs in the republic and has set out the ways for solving the urgent problems.

I am in full accord with the conclusions and proposals voiced in the report. In recent years, serious mistakes and violations have been made in the development of the economy and in the ideological and moral sphere and these have presently led to a complicated political situation in the republic.

The main reason for such a situation is that at one time the Armenian CP Central Committee, its Buro and the republic leadership lacked the principledness to assess the situation objectively and critically and to take promptly measures to resolve the arising acute problems.

The drive for banners and victorious reports obscured the shortcomings and unsolved problems and created a situation of complacency and indifference in the Central Committee, the government as well as in many party, soviet, social and economic bodies.

Comrades! I take the criticism addressed to the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee and to the government for the mistakes committed as also directed against me, as a candidate member of the Central Committee Buro and a member of the Presidium of the republic Council of Ministers.

In the existing situation there are also numerous problems in the people's control bodies as was correctly pointed out in the report. The republic committee is taking measures to restructure the work of the people's control bodies and to raise the responsibility of the committees and groups for the state of affairs in their regions.

Since the 27th CPSU Congress, over the last 2 1/2 years, the committees were forced to hold liable more than 9,000 officials, remove 155 from the positions held and seek compensation of over 455,000 rubles from the guilty parties and forward the materials of 182 inspections to the procuracy bodies.

At the same time, the work of numerous committees and groups has not helped to improve work efficiency in the national economy or reduce negative phenomena in the republic. The adopted measures in restructuring the work of the system have not been sufficient.

The committees, including the republic one, together with the party organizations have not brought about a substantial improvement in the work of the people's control groups. The groups often overlook serious shortcomings in their labor collectives, they do not take measures to check these and frequently bypass the "difficult questions."

They have waged a completely insufficient struggle against instances of nonfulfillment of the delivery plan, the production of inferior products, theft, including the so-called "minor," mismanagement, padding, deception and other violations.

A major shortcoming is the low effectiveness of the control work exercised by many people's control committees and groups. Individual committees have uncritically assessed the situation in their regions, they are often involved in examining minor-importance questions, they do not disclose the reasons which gave rise to the shortcomings and do not work for their elimination.

Many committees, including the republic one, often lack principledness in defending their positions as well as consistency in fully realizing the results of the checks.

We have not been able to see to it that each people's controller and worker of the people's control bodies set an example of honesty, principledness and integrity.

The republic committee feels that all the people's control bodies should fundamentally reorganize their work.

In recent years, there has been a significant decline in the level of party leadership over the people's control bodies. Suffice it to point out that the Armenian CP Central Committee over the last 10 years only twice has taken up the question of the work of the people's control bodies. Numerous personnel questions have not been settled.

A similar claim can be laid against a number of the party gorkoms and raykoms. For more than 10 months the position of chairman of the Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon People's Control Committee has stood vacant. This has been of little concern to the leadership of the party committee.

The party committees often overload the people's control committees with assignments not within their responsibility and do not pay sufficiently serious attention to recruiting the cadres working in the control bodies. In assigning the committee chairmen to individual villages during the period of agricultural work, they are long diverted from their main job, they rarely meet with the activists and do not set tasks for them.

Comrades! An analysis of the results of the checks makes it possible to draw certain generalizations which are aimed at overcoming the phenomena of stagnation in the republic economy and in the social sphere. The people's control bodies should significantly strengthen their activities in these areas.

One of the reasons for our shortcomings is the low level of executive discipline in the ministries, departments, enterprises and executive committees of the local soviets. Many decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Armenian Council of Ministers adopted on important questions of the republic's development are also being carried out unsatisfactorily.

A few examples. Over the last 12 years, some 17 decrees of the Central Committee and Council of Ministers, including 16 joint ones, have been adopted on the questions of environmental conservation. Many instructions given in them have not been carried out and the ecological situation in the republic remains difficult and is deteriorating in a number of areas.

Many assignments set out in these decrees were not carried out by the enterprises of Gosagroprom and the Ministries of Motor Transport, Construction and Light

Industry, by the leaders of the Nairit NPO [scientific production association], the Polyvinyl acetate PO [production association] and by the executive committees of the Yerevan and Kirovakan city soviets.

In 1981, the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers approved a decree on increasing the production of agricultural products on the private subsidiary farms of the citizens. A number of measures was outlined to increase the livestock in private agriculture. But because of the relaxed approach to carrying out this most important party demand, the situation has deteriorated. While in 1981, 42.7 percent of the rural households in the republic did not keep any livestock, in 1988, the figure was 50.5 percent and for cows, respectively, 54.9 and 60.9 percent.

The situation has deteriorated significantly in Abovianskiy, Aparanskiy, Araratskiy, Gugarkskiy, Yekhegnadzorskiy, Martuninskiy, imeni Kamo, Razdanskiy, Shamshadinskiy and a number of other rayons.

It is essential to significantly increase the personal responsibility of all ranks of leaders for the state of executive discipline and at the same time reduce the number of decrees adopted and increase their soundness and support with material resources.

In our view, it is essential to decisively increase the responsibility of our cadres for the state of affairs in the areas of activity assigned to them. There are fewer shortcomings in the organization of trade including improper counts and weights and price violations have assumed a mass nature. Checks by committees carried out recently in 2,150 stores disclosed serious violations in 55.0 percent of them. They have shown that the leaders of the Mintorg [Ministry of Trade], Aykoop, the local soviets, the trade organizations and the consumer societies have not taken radical measures to decisively cure this chronic disease. When will order be instilled in the work of the bases and where are the shortcomings actually inadmissible?

For over 3 months we have had in service a direct telephone line where the workers could call the republic KNK. On individual days, we have received 10-15 different proposals and complaints. An analysis indicates that one-half of these is the result of unsatisfactory work by the housing and utility services including: the lack of hot and cold water, disruptions in the delivery schedules, and the failure to resolve questions of the repair on housing, networks and sewage treatment. There have been numerous complaints from the following rayons: 26 komissarov, Sovetskiy and Ordzhonikidzevskiy. Why do the housing and utility services primarily in these rayons take such an inattentive attitude toward the needs of the workers?

We must wage a decisive struggle against deception and sham.

Over the last 2 years, major padding of figures were discovered in the Armelektromash [Armenian Electrical Machinery] PO, the Dilizhan Impuls Plant, the Leninakan KOP [forging-stamping equipment] Plant, the Razdanskiy Mashinostroitel [Razdan Machine Builder] PO and a number of other enterprises.

There has also been a great deal of padding in capital construction.

Many projects which were turned over incomplete are a dead weight on the enterprise balance sheets and they are becoming useless. Among them are: the Bayandur-Aykadzor sewage collector with a cost of 3.3 million rubles and completed in 1984, the treatment facilities at the Maralik Cotton Spinning Mill and many others. In August 1988, included as complete was the school in the village of Landzharat in Artashatskiy Rayon but here they have yet to assemble the buildings for the boiler house and 302,000 rubles of work has not been done.

The former leadership of the Yerevan telephone network, instead of taking measures to improve the quality of services for the public, concealed both the number as well as the length of damages in the telephone networks. There was numerous padding in the agroindustrial complex. These occurred in putting down fruits and vegetables for winter storage in 1987 in accounting for the irrigated lands of Ashtarakskiy, Masisskiy, Artashatskiy and Talinskiy Rayons.

We beguile ourselves with the fact that in terms of the per capita volume of domestic services the republic holds a leading place among the Union figures. But this is not the case! In 1987, the total volume of services included services to state enterprises, the mass manufacturing of footwear and knitwear and this in no way can be considered domestic services. They were 42.4 percent of all the services and a significant portion of these were shipped outside the republic. Of course, it is easier to show mass manufacturing of footwear and knitwear as services to the public than to organize this in the towns and particularly the republic villages.

Deception, padding and sham create the appearance of well-being, they dishearten the labor collectives, they contribute to the theft of socialist property and cause serious harm to the development of the republic economy.

Comrades! We must make up for the lost in carrying out the decisions of the April (1985) Plenum of the Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress. I am in full agreement with the speaker that for this first of all we must create in the republic a healthy moral and political situation and achieve a high sense of responsibility among all levels of cadres for the work results in the established areas and struggle constantly for a pure appearance of each member of our party organization and primarily the leaders.

The people's control bodies will be in the front ranks of those fighting to carry out these tasks.

The course of the current plenum, said the milkmaid from the Loriyskiy Breeding Farm in Kalininskiy Rayon, **P.D. Arakelyan**, in her speech, shows the objective analysis of the state of affairs in the republic and is permeated with a spirit of party principledness. A responsible assessment has been provided for the state of the economy, the social sphere, the existing ideological and moral situation under the conditions of restructuring.

Many unsolved problems have built up in the republic. These also exist in our rayon.

I would like to start with the Loriyskiy Breeding Farm which has long been the base farm for purebred livestock raising in the republic. I have worked here for more than 30 years. I must admit directly that we also have felt the influence of the period of stagnation and as a result the farm has lost its former glory. The main reason resides in the fact that for many years measures were not undertaken to strengthen the physical plant of livestock raising, for improving the labor conditions or for resolving the social problems of the countryside.

In February of last year, the party raykom carefully analyzed the problems of the farm and submitted the appropriate proposals to the Gosagroprom. A decree was also adopted by the superior bodies on our farm. However, as yet little has been concretely done to carry it out.

For 7 years now, construction has been underway on the livestock complex on the sovkhoz. But its completion is not foreseen this year. How could it be otherwise if during individual years 40,000-100,000 rubles of capital investments were assigned for its construction, while the estimated cost is over 3 million rubles? In this manner, a long-term construction project has been knowingly planned. The situation has been exacerbated by the fact that year after year the understated plans have not been fulfilled.

The leadership of the republic Gosagroprom and the Gosagrostroy [State Agricultural Construction Committee] together with the other contracting organizations repeatedly held dispatcher meetings at the site and drew up numerous statements and completion schedules indicating specific dates and executors. But these measures did not produce any results aside from an amusement for the villagers. This could not have been otherwise as the leadership did not show proper responsibility to analyzing the reasons for the failure to meet the plan quotas.

One other question. We all know how important it is for a worker to have good housing and service conditions. How the rural workers will live will largely determine how they work in the fields, at the farms and on the construction projects. What do we find here? Over a long

period of time work has not been done to provide further amenities for our village and housing construction has been carried out with poor quality.

I should say that these problems have built up not only on our farm. Throughout the rayon, the physical plant for livestock raising is in a neglected state. For years measures have not been undertaken to create the appropriate conditions in this sector and as a result the farms on a number of sovkhozes such as Ilmazlo, Sarchapet, Kazyldash, Kyzylshafak and the kolkhoz in the village of Novoseltsevo look like they did in the 1920s.

The so-called livestock complexes which have been completed at the Kalininskiy and Metsavanskiy sovkhozes have in no way resolved the problem of intensifying livestock production but on the contrary have complicated the financial status of the designated farms. A good deal of money has been invested into the complexes but as of now there has been no return.

With the correct, rational construction of new livestock barns and the reconstruction of the old ones, even now the rayon could increase milk production by almost 50 percent, that is, bring its production up to 35,000 tons. But specifically neither the republic Gosagroprom or the Gosplan has been concerned with its duties of strengthening the physical plant of agricultural production in the rayon. This has led to passivity on the part of the rayon organizations in carrying out these tasks. Here also a part has been played by the pernicious practice of frequently changing the party raykom secretaries with all the ensuing circumstances.

Many questions have built up in improving the housing, utility and service conditions both in the town of Kalinino itself as well as in the rayon's villages.

The main problem which impedes the rayon's socioeconomic development is the state of affairs in construction. The small capacity of the construction organizations, the unsatisfactory supply of building materials and elements and the multiplicity of unsolved questions which have built up have not made it possible to employ the already small amounts of capital investments. I do not recall a year when we carried out the plans for construction and installation work. Such a situation for many years has not bothered either the head organizations, the leaders of the construction ministries and departments, the republic Council of Ministers or the Construction Section under the Armenian CP Central Committee.

Indifference has also left its imprint on all aspects of the development of the social sphere and the economy of the rayon, and has given rise to dissatisfaction among the public with the living and working conditions.

Drinking water supply has been poorly organized in the rayon. In the town of Kalinino and in certain villages the problem of drinking water is already causing real concern.

A poor physical plant is also characteristic of the facilities in public health, public education, trade, consumer services, culture and sports. We do not know when the construction plans will include an addition to the rayon polyclinic, a maternity division at the hospital, although there is the appropriate decision by the Armenian Council of Ministers.

The stores and public service facilities in many villages are located in unadapted, decrepit buildings where there are not even minimum conditions for work. The empty shelves in the stores evoke legitimate dissatisfaction on the part of the public. It is hard for us to obtain even vital necessities, including those produced in the republic such as sugar, candies, flour, vegetables, fruits and so forth. It is strange that our rayon consumer society is among the few trade organizations in the republic fulfilling the commodity turnover plan. Obviously, the leadership of Aykoop is more concerned for "convenient" percentage indicators and the gross than meeting the demand of the people for everyday products and goods. I feel that it is high time to plan and assess trade not from a gross total indicator but rather from the saturating of the shelves and meeting the demand of the public.

For many years, a major and very acute problem has been the placement of labor resources and the ensuing social evil of emigration. This has assumed an evermore mass nature and we are not searching for measures against it.

As you see, there are many problems. And at present in our rayon, added to these are one other, interruptions in gasoline deliveries. And this is during the period of intense harvesting work and supplying the public with fruits and vegetables.

It is essential to cut through the knot of mistakes and problems. During a visit to our rayon, the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, A.G. Arutyunyan, held a principled discussion on the problems which had built up, the unresolved questions and the measures to overcome them. It is time to set to work. The rayon's workers are fully determined to carry out the set tasks.

It would be a good thing if such determination was also present in the leadership.

Many of our problems would probably be quickly solved if the republic ministries and departments went more deeply into the concerns and needs of the rural workers and provided practical aid on the spot. The question of cooperation and the pooling of efforts is an urgent one.

At one of the recent sessions of the party raykom Buro, we invited the leaders of a number of ministries to attend. And what did I, as a raykom member notice? They did not know the rayon's problems as they should. And do not the reasons for many of our calamities lie here?

I would like to say the following. As a candidate member of the Central Committee, I have not taken proper part in the work of an elective body. I feel that many rank-and-file communists are in a similar situation.

It is essential to seek out the ways to rectify this situation. The proposals voiced here on the need to renew the Central Committee membership at an extraordinary Armenian CP congress also appear correct to me.

There has been a serious and truly principled discussion at the plenum. I am certain that it will help determine the main directions in solving the tasks confronting the republic.

Capital construction with good reason is considered to be the core in carrying out very important national economic tasks, said the Deputy Chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Republic Gosstroy, V.B. Artsruni. At the same time, the main fund-forming sector is very far from leadership in the economy. Year after year we fail to meet the quotas for completing capacity and projects, the amount of incomplete construction is high and long-term construction projects have become an ordinary practice.

The social infrastructure has been poorly developed and as a result of this, at present, the supply of the republic population with housing and other facilities in the social and cultural sphere is significantly below the established standards as well as the achieved level as an average for the nation. In terms of the availability of housing, medical and preschool institutions, the republic holds one of the last places among the Union republics. We have over 600,000 m<sup>2</sup> of below-standard and temporary housing, 286 schools and a significant portion of the vocational-technical schools are located in old, unadapted buildings.

One of the most important political and socioeconomic tasks is a fundamental solution to the housing problem. For providing each family with a separate apartment or individual house, the republic must build 334,000 apartments or around 30 million m<sup>2</sup> of general housing area.

In order to bring the availability of facilities in the social sphere up to the standards of 1990, we must build preschool institutions with 80,000 places and before 1995, general education schools with 200,000 seats, hospitals and polyclinics before the year 2000 for respectively more than 42,000 beds and 89,000 visits.

A most important, crucial condition for carrying out the planned program for housing and cultural-service construction is the taking of immediate, fundamental measures to strengthen the physical plant of construction. The construction industry over the last 10-15 years has developed extremely slowly and at present it is clearly unable to handle the sharply increasing scale of construction. In this regard, in accord with the comprehensive program for developing the industrial base, over the next

5 years it is essential at the Spandaryanskiy Industrial Center to build a complex of plants producing prefabricated reinforced concrete elements for more than 600,000 m<sup>3</sup> a year. Along with building new plants producing reinforced concrete elements and prestressed structures, there will also be the technical reequipping, reconstruction and expansion of a majority of the existing ones. This will make it possible to bring the average annual volume of prefabricated reinforced concrete element production from 1.5 million m<sup>3</sup> during the current five-year plan to 2.5 million m<sup>3</sup> in the 13th Five-Year Plan.

Currently, the republic meets just 30 percent of the need for carpentry products from its own production. The gap will be eliminated by building two woodworking combines each with a capacity of 500,000 m<sup>3</sup> of products a year. The first of these is being designed and will begin construction in the 4th quarter of 1989 in the town of Razdan.

Together with the USSR Glavalmazoloto [Main Administration for the Diamond and Gold Industries], it has been proposed that in the 13th Five-Year Plan enterprises will be built producing linoleum, parquet flooring, plumbing articles, polymer materials and wall-paper based on imported equipment.

Our republic possesses a significant industrial potential. Unfortunately, its capabilities to meet the needs of construction have been virtually unused.

We are seriously concerned over the quality of construction, particularly mass construction. Often the housing and sociocultural facilities are put into operation with major flaws and with deviations from the plans, the requirements of the technical specifications, construction standards and rules.

At present, we can no longer be satisfied by the state of standardized designing the level of which does not help to increase the efficiency and quality of construction. Standard plans for housing, nurseries, general education schools, clubs and other facilities in the social sphere do not meet modern requirements of urban development, architecture, comfort as well as functional purpose. In this context the newly established Main Administration for Architecture and Urban Development under the Republic Gosstroy should give particular priority to improving the standard designs.

As is known, on 1 January 1989, the nation's entire construction complex will convert to full economic accountability and self-financing. In assessing the preparedness of the republic construction organizations to work under the new management conditions, it is essential to point out that we are particularly concerned by the financial state of the construction organizations of the Minstroy [Ministry of Construction] and Agrostroy [Rural Construction Administration] as there is a significant shortage of own working capital and high debts on

bank loans. In a number of construction organizations, for example, in Talin, Ashtarak, Alaverdi and others, the financial status is such that the paying of wages has been held up for several months. For this reason, if we do not settle the questions of stabilizing the economic and financial state of such organizations, they simply cannot exist under the new operating conditions and will be eliminated.

To a significant degree the economy of the contracting organizations has been sapped by the delayed payments of clients for equipment to perform construction jobs. This liability over the first half of the current year was over 78 million rubles.

In ensuring rhythmical operation and the organizing of flow construction, an exceptionally important role should be played by the decree of the republic Council of Ministers on converting as of this year to 3-year continuous planning for the construction and completion of housing, utility and cultural-domestic projects. However, its implementation has foundered on the lack of discipline of a number of organizations in providing land for construction. Thus, regardless of the fact that the general plans of Yerevan, Leninakan and Kirovakan have been approved by the Armenian Council of Ministers and by the republic Gosagroprom, the Shaumyanskiy, Nairiyskiy, Akhuryanskiy and Gugarkskiy Rayon soviets up to the present under various pretexts have delayed in allocating 2,500 hectares of land to provide for the unlocated housing construction for the period up to 1995. This jeopardizes the completion of the program approved by the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Armenian Council of Ministers to build housing and sociocultural facilities. Such a situation is intolerable. It is perfectly apparent that in examining and approving the general plans for the development of the towns and settlements, a thorough discussion should be carried out and a balanced decision taken considering all viewpoints, but if a decision has been taken, then no one should impede its implementation.

An unsatisfactory state of affairs has developed in the prompt delivery of design and estimate specifications by the clients, in making available sites as well as supplying the sites with equipment. Thus, only 80 percent of the design and estimate specifications and sites were available on 1 June 1988 for the sociocultural program of the Ministry and the Armenian Agrostroy. The absence in the current year of essential equipment delivered by the client has threatened the completion of fixed capital valued on the order of 180 million rubles.

Presently in construction, as nowhere else, there must be a fundamental change in the established schemes, the obsolete notions and we must have truly revolutionary changes. The questions of improving the work of the construction complex should become an inseparable part of the organizational and political work of the party

gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations of the sector as well as a matter of special concern for the state and economic bodies of the republic.

We are confronted by great, exceptionally complicated and crucial work. Allow me to express confidence that the construction complex in the republic will be able to carry out the set tasks.

The First Secretary of the Echmiadzinskiy Armenian CP Raykom, S.M. Mkhitarian, said:

Comrades! At present, when the republic has commenced serious work to eliminate the existing shortcomings and to improve the moral and political atmosphere in the various spheres of our life, a repetition of past mistakes is inadmissible. This also concerns the mistakes made in the agrarian sector of the economy, particularly in the area of employing the land resources which is the basic means of agricultural production and which seriously obstructs a solution to the food problem. One can scarcely accept the reality that in our republic with little land and little water, for various reasons some 50,000-60,000 hectares of irrigated land are not put or only are partially put into agricultural use and on which millions have been spent. Why have they been developed? What were the design, planning and executing organizations responsible for this thinking about? This happened because the work in this area was carried out incompletely and in a poorly thought-out manner. It was poorly thought out because they did not consider that the layer of land suitable for tilling cannot be moved, in plowing it up instead of the cementing layer, after which, as they say, you could not drive a nail into this ground. Incompletely because they have not considered all of the factors essential for the rational use of the land.

One of the reasons for the noted phenomenon rests on the fact that without completing the putting of already developed lands into use, we began developing new lands destined for the same fate. From all appearances, this work was more advantageous for Vodstroy [Water Management and Construction Administration] than preventing the unjustified water losses from the irrigated lands which had been in use for a long time. Thus, in Echmiadzinskiy Rayon the length of the network of internal farm irrigation was 690 km, and over 350 km of this ran through a dirt channel. Water losses here were 30 percent or around 90 million m<sup>3</sup>. Regardless of this, the plans for reconstructing the network, in being established by government decisions, were not carried out in any of the five-year plans.

An incentive to rapidly put new areas into agricultural use is impeded by the fact that the republic planning organizations, in compiling the plans for the rayons, do not fully consider the new reserves and opportunities, thereby putting the agricultural enterprises under difficult conditions.

We all know what important significance is given to the task of supplying the public with fresh vegetables. At present, this question is not only a social one but also a political one. However, the area under these crops over the last decade has not increased.

The allocating of thousands of hectares of agricultural land for the commercial working of stone and sand is a manifestation of an irresponsible attitude toward the land. After completing the exploitation of the quarries, they are not recultivated or are only partially so, although the corresponding government decrees have been adopted on this question. In Echmiadzinskiy Rayon alone, there are 400 hectares of such land but according to the instructions of the leading republic bodies they continue to exploit plowed lands for the purposes of commercial sand pits.

Or there is the fact that in the plans worked out in the past, the population points were to be expanded using the best plowed lands. As a result, the villages in the Ararat Valley have been enlarged to a point where they have begun to connect with one another. Our demand of enlarging the population points with the designing and construction of social facilities on other lands adjacent to the villages has not been carried out. A similar lot has befallen our request for developing 2,000 hectares of salined and water-logged lands where the completion of the Ranchparskiy Water Pumping Station established favorable conditions for this.

All these questions have been raised repeatedly by us and have also been discussed from this rostrum. The fact that these questions have not been settled and have remained unanswered as well as the inconsistency in carrying out the decisions have undoubtedly had a negative impact on the activities of the cadres and shaken the confidence of the people in them. The shattering fact of the destruction of the hothouses which were personal property was an example that opinions coming from below were not considered and was a manifestation of administrative rule and a subjective approach.

At present, we should recognize that the republic truly has numerous painful, unresolved economic and social problems which have evoked universal valid dissatisfaction and these could be resolved if the leading republic bodies would show the necessary consistency and responsibility, attention to criticism from below and exactingness. However, all of this has not happened because there has been a technocratic approach to the problems and this has been characterized by a bureaucratic, closed-door style of leadership, connivance and permissiveness. Unfortunately, at present there are many leaders in the republic who have not taken up the demands of restructuring and continue to work in the old manner.

Echmiadzinskiy Rayon which in a year took 120-150 million m<sup>3</sup> of water from Sevan, or 30-40 percent of the entire releases, due to the measures carried out for 2

years now has not taken a single gram of water. At one of the recent plenums, we proposed to discover new supplies of water and use them. In addition, a letter on this question was sent to the Armenian CP Central Committee. However, everything has remained just on paper while the republic Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Management, Yu. Dzhavadyan, refused even to participate in the work of the commission set up under the Central Committee and which hence has not met. A year has passed; however, this question has not interested anyone. However, all of this has not prevented Yu. Dzhavadyan in assimilating the achievements of others, from propagandizing himself and the ministry for apparent successes, using here individual naive press workers and even responsible leaders. Here is an example of bureaucracy and conceit for you.

Another example. Last year, several times the party Central Committee discussed questions related to our rayon, two of which were on ideological work. We recognize our shortcomings, however we do not agree with the practice of preparing and discussing these questions when this is done in a one-sided or tendentious manner. Even after we had argued back on certain aspects before the Central Committee Buro and the question was removed from discussion, the Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, R. Arzumanyan, without having made a visit to the spot and without any investigation, threatened to send a new commission which supposedly would discover major shortcomings. But he did not come to the rayon, even after an invitation to the plenum of the party raykom which was to discuss the decree of the Central Committee Buro. He probably was busy with more important questions. In 3 years of work as the Central Committee secretary, he has never visited Echmiadzinskiy Rayon which is adjacent to Yerevan, regardless of the particular features of the rayon in the area of ideological work.

We do not try to deny the shortcomings and oversights which exist in our rayon and in line with this we fully accept the criticism found in the report. It must be pointed out that the work style of the raykom, many party organizations and the soviets still does not meet the demands of restructuring and many aspects of their activities merit criticism. Daily, lively work with the people in many places continues to be shut out by the old, obsolete methods. Such forms of work clearly show their ineffectiveness during the events related to the happenings in the NKAO. For this reason, proceeding from this, we have endeavored to focus the attention of the communists on disclosing and eliminating shortcomings in political, organizational and cadre work, particularly at present, when the report and election meetings are being held. There is no doubt that the current plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee will give new scope to this work and will concretize the plans for the future.

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The plenum ratified the corresponding decree.

### Plenum Resolution

18300056a Yerevan *KOMMUNIST in Russian*  
28 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Decree of the Plenum of the CPA Central Committee of 13 September 1988 on the Tasks of the Party Organizations to Overcome the Phenomena of Stagnation in the Economy and Social Sphere and to Improve the Ideological and Moral Situation in the Republic]

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report given by the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan "On the Tasks of the Party Organizations in Overcoming the Phenomena of Stagnation in the Economic and Social Sphere and Improving the Ideological and Moral Situation in the Republic," the Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee points out that since the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the Buro and Secretariat of the Armenian CP Central Committee have been unable to work out and implement new political approaches to solving the urgent, acute problems in the economic, social and spiritual spheres and overcome the mood of indifference and complacency. Conclusions have not been drawn from the exacting and just criticism aimed at the republic party organization and its leadership and which was heard at the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee has not been able to head the process of renewal while the forms and methods of organizational and political work were not brought into conformity with the tasks of restructuring and democratizing our society. Flagrant miscalculations and mistakes were made in the recruitment and placement of personnel. The party gorkoms and raykoms were slow in mastering the political methods of leadership. Many party, soviet and economic leaders turned out to be unprepared to carry out the qualitatively new tasks.

The Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee feels that the Central Committee Buro and the republic Council of Ministers have underestimated the importance of resolving the social problems which have built up. A lag has been permitted behind the Union average indicators for providing the public with housing, public health, trade and consumer service facilities and preschool institutions. The gap between the individual cities and rayons fluctuates by several-fold in satisfying the main social needs.

An unsatisfactory situation has also developed in supplying the public with food products. The quotas of the Food Program have not been met for the production of a majority of types of agricultural products. Little use is made of the existing opportunities to increase the production and procurement of livestock products, fruits and vegetables.

The housing problem continues to remain acute. Around 3,000 families have been on the waiting lists for 15-20 years and over 10,000 continue to live in decrepit and

temporary housing. There has been a lag in the construction of schools, nurseries, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs and houses of culture. An intolerable situation has come into being in supplying the public with drinking water in the cities of Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan, Dilizhan, Ararat and certain other population points. The work of passenger transport has been unsatisfactorily organized.

There still are difficulties in supplying the public with goods and services. The enterprises and associations of the "A" have not truly converted to producing consumer goods and providing services to the public. There has been little development of the range of services involved in satisfying the domestic and cultural needs of the public or the rational use of its free time. Proper attention has not been paid to improving working and living conditions on the job. The level and efficiency of services are extremely low. The state of affairs in public health also requires a fundamental improvement.

The state of the environment causes serious concern. In Yerevan, Kirovakan, Razdan, Cherentsavan, Alaverdi and Ararat, the level of air pollution is several-fold higher than the acceptable standards. The ecological situation of Lake Sevan continues to remain acute. The operation of the Armenian Nuclear Power Plant has caused concern among the workers. The unsatisfactory state of the social sphere is a direct result of the technocratic approach to posing and resolving the tasks of satisfying the specific needs and requests of the people.

The disproportions in the economy have not been overcome. The growth rates of national income and social labor productivity have declined. The capital- and material-intensiveness of production have risen. The quality of many types of produced products has deteriorated. The task of accelerating scientific and technical progress has not been put at the center of practical work. The economy has been unprepared for the extensive utilization of intensive development factors. The imbalance has deepened in socioeconomic development. For a number of the basic indicators the quotas of the current five-year plan are not being fulfilled. Numerous problems have built up in machine building and in the construction complex. The restructuring of the economic mechanism and a radical reform in the economy are not being carried out with sufficient activeness. The introduction of complete economic accountability and self-financing as yet has not provided tangible results.

The necessary measures have not been taken to eliminate the serious shortcomings and oversights in ideological work. Such deep-rooted, distorted phenomena as the theft of socialist property, corruption, bribery, protectionism, a negligent attitude toward the laws and the violation of the principles of social justice have left a profound impression on the moral state of society, they have led to the loss of moral values and guidelines in a part of the workers and have given rise to their mistrust and skepticism, apathy and pessimism.

The ideological activities of the party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations lack systematicness, comprehensiveness and consistency. The questions of satisfying the cultural and other needs of the national minorities living in the republic have not always been considered.

The reform of the secondary and higher school has been little carried out. The serious omissions in organizing the educational process, particularly in the teaching of social science disciplines and its divorce from real social practices have created problems in the political indoctrination of the younger generation, to shortcomings in the shaping of their international and patriotic awareness and to ideological instability and civil immaturity. Full use is not being made of the indoctrinational potential of the republic's creative intelligentsia, literature, art, the theater and movies. A considerate attitude is not always shown to the creative heritage of the past. The teaching of the Armenian language must be improved. Many school graduates have a poor mastery of Russian.

The shortcomings and mistakes in the political, international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers are particularly apparent in the context of events in Nagornyy Karabakh. The meetings, manifestations and strikes destabilized the situation, and irresponsible persons became active who impelled others to act contrary to the law. In this situation many party, soviet and economic leaders and a portion of the cultural and literary figures and social scientists were not up to the challenge and were unable to provide a decisive rebuff to those who endeavored to utilize the difficulties and problems in order to blacken and discredit restructuring work.

The leaders of the crime prevention bodies tolerated serious shortcomings and violations in the work of the departments headed by them, they did not place high demands on the personnel for thoughtless execution of their service duties, they did not show proper concern for the purity of their ranks and did not wage a decisive struggle against antisocial manifestations.

The mass information media lacked militancy, constructiveness and depth in work of improving the ideological and moral situation and in treating the complex questions of internationality relations. The press, television and radio have not shown with sufficient persuasiveness the increased sociopolitical activeness of the people, the sprouts of the new and the advanced experience of restructuring.

The Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee decrees:

1. To approve the ideas and conclusions contained in the report of the First Secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee, S.G. Arutyunyan, on the given question.

To oblige the Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee, the party gorkoms and raykoms to raise the level of political and organizational work carried out by the republic party organization to a qualitatively new level and to bring this into conformity with the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th Party Conference and the present stage of restructuring. It is essential to decisively escape from everything inert and formal in party life, to institute a business-like and constructive style, to more boldly employ nontraditional approaches and show new thinking in solving the pending problems and in improving the ideological and moral situation in the republic. It is essential to see to it that each party organization and each labor collective live for the cause of restructuring.

2. The Council of Ministers (Comrade F.T. Sarkisyan), the Gosplan (Comrade M.Ts. Mkrtchyan), the Gosagroprom (Comrade V.M. Movsisyan), the Aykoop and the executive committees of the soviets are to adopt immediate measures to fundamentally improve the food supply for the public. There is to be an increase in the efficiency of agricultural production and a greater return from the fields and farms, employing all reserves and opportunities for this. Particular attention is to be paid to the ubiquitous and broad introduction of a lease contract and to the active use of the possibilities of the private farms of the public, the subsidiary farms of enterprises and organizations as well as collective orchard and vegetable growing. Over the next 2 years, milk production should increase by at least 70,000 tons and meat by 27,000 tons, while a solution should be provided to the problem of the year-round supply of fruits and vegetables for the public. Immediate measures are to be carried out to improve the transporting, processing, storage and sale of agricultural products. For these purposes there is to be the prompt and unconditional completion of facilities for their storage and processing.

3. The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the Gosstroy, the Gosagroprom and the executive committees of the soviets, in giving particular importance to solving the housing problem, starting in 1989, are to provide for an acceleration in the housing construction rate by 1.5-2-fold, as well as the allocating of the full amount of capital investments, material and labor resources for these purposes. Special attention is to be paid to broadening individual and cooperative construction, making maximum use for this of all available resources and opportunities at the enterprises and organizations, sovkhozes and kolkhozes. We must see to it that in 1993, the persons on the lists at the beginning of 1987 are provided with housing as well as those living in decrepit and temporary housing.

The Armenian Sovprof, the executive committees of the soviets, the ministries and departments must ensure the unswerving observance of housing legislation, social justice and extensive glasnost on the question of the registration and allocation of housing.

The Council of Ministers and the Yerevan Gorispolkom is to outline measures to provide housing for persons living in the Kond development in Yerevan.

4. The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the Gosagroprom, the Minzhilkommunkhoz [Ministry of Housing and Utility Services], the Minvodkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Management], the Glavarmvodstroy [Main Armenian Water Construction Administration] and the executive committees of the soviets are to work out and in the next few years implement a program for supplying the republic population with drinking water, primarily in the cities of Yerevan, Leninakan, Kirovakan, Ararat and Dilizhan. Additional measures are to be carried out to strengthen the physical plant of the water line system. Immediate measures are to be taken to reduce water losses and to repair and rebuild the existing water networks. In the immediate future they are to review and adopt measures to convert production processes at industrial enterprises to employing industrial water as well as strictly monitor the observance of limit discipline by the enterprises.

5. The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the republic ministries and departments are to make the social reorientation of the economy the core of all structural and investment policy, providing the corresponding changes in the plans for 1989-1990, in the main directions for the economic and social development of the republic for 1991-1995 and for the period up to the year 2000. There is to be a balance in the monetary income and expenditures of the population and a qualitatively new standard of living is to be reached. An integrated program is to be worked out and implemented for the social restructuring of the countryside and for improving the working and living conditions of the rural workers. The necessary funds and material resources are to be channeled into this.

Together with the executive committees of the local Soviets, additional measures are to be worked out and implemented for increasing the volume, for broadening the assortment and improving the quality of consumer goods. The level of trade, domestic, medical and other types of services for the public is to be increased. Immediate measures are to be taken to improve the operation of municipal transport. Serious attention is to be paid to strengthening the physical plant of the service sphere and to bringing it to a qualitatively new level. A decisive struggle is to be waged against the negative phenomena which have become widespread in these spheres.

6. The Council of Ministers, the Goskompriroda [State Committee for Natural Conservation], the ministries and departments, the executive committees of the soviets are to work out and implement a thoroughly based program for improving the ecological situation in the republic and based upon an over-all concept for long-range socioeconomic development. Particular attention

must be paid to utilizing capital investments for the construction of conservation projects. The failure to meet the completion dates for these is to be considered inadmissible.

The Armenian Council of Ministers is to institute strict supervision over the carrying out of measures related to the protection and ensuring the ecological purity of Lake Sevan, to the accelerated completion of additional capacity at the Razdan GRES and the shutting down of the AES over the next 3 years, as well as creating conditions which would exclude environmental pollution by the enterprises of the chemical and cement industries. The public is to be informed systematically on the course of implementing the conservation measures.

7. The Armenian Council of Ministers, the republic Gosplan, the ministries and departments are to revise all existing long-range programs for the use of labor, material and financial resources, for increasing the technical level and quality of products, for developing and locating the productive forces and in these fully incorporate the principles for intensive management and tasks for the efficient and balanced development of the national economy. A range of intercoordinated measures is to be implemented ensuring a major change in intensifying the republic economy. For this purpose, it is considered essential to work out an integrated specific program "Efficiency-2000" with sectorial and territorial breakdowns and use this as the basis for compiling the 13th and 14th Five-Year Plans.

8. The Gosplan, the Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Public Education together with the corresponding USSR ministries and departments, the scientific research and design-engineering institutes are to draw up an integrated regional mechanism for managing scientific and technical progress on the basis of specific program methods and new organizational structures.

The effect of the new management conditions is to be profoundly analyzed on accelerating scientific and technical progress. New structural changes are to be carried out in industry based upon a mastery of the achievements of advanced technology including radioelectronics, control and communications systems and installations, computer and laser equipment, optoelectronics, modern instrument building and biotechnology. Measures are to be implemented to accelerate the introduction of completed developments into production and to materialize the scientific and technical potential created in the republic in order to broaden the volume and range of end scientific and industrial products. Concrete proposals are to be prepared to curtail inefficient and unpromising types of production, to respecialize a number of enterprises the production of which is hard to place on the market. For ensuring a new quality of economic growth, a program is to be worked out for the modernization and technical reequipping of the machine building complex, for developing intersectorial and

intrasectorial specialization and cooperation among the enterprises, for improving the technical level and accelerating the modernizing of the produced products.

9. The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the Gosstroy of the republic (Comrade V.B. Artsruni) are to carry out a major change in capital construction. A comprehensive specific program is to be drawn up for developing the facilities of the construction industry and the building materials industry for 1989-1990 and for the 13th Five-Year Plan considering the needs of construction, the market and other national economic requirements. The order and organization are to be increased in all areas of the construction conveyor, and there is to be a fundamental improvement in design and estimate work and the quality of construction-installation work. The efficient functioning of the new structure of the construction complex is to be ensured and there is to be the unconditional fulfillment of plan quotas and the prompt completion of the facilities and capacity.

10. The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee and the Armenian Council of Ministers are to strengthen supervision and increase the responsibility of the party committees, the ministries and departments for carrying out the economic reform, for bringing its main principles to each work area, to broaden enterprise independence and increase their responsibility in full accord with the requirements of the USSR Law Governing a State Enterprise.

The Council of Ministers, the Gosplan, the Gosnab, the Minfin [Ministry of Finances] and the other economic departments are to take specific measures to accelerate the restructuring of planning work, to convert to wholesale trade in the means of production and ensure efficient functioning of the payment and credit system. Additional measures are to be worked out and implemented for the financial strengthening of the national economy and for improving monetary circulation.

The Council of Ministers, Sovprof, Gosplan and Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Wages] are to take immediate measures for the rational use of labor resources, for forming a flexible system of job placement, for retraining and vocational guidance of the public. The existing demographic situation in the republic is to be thoroughly analyzed, and a new demographic policy is to be worked out for the long run considering the specific features of each city and rayon and each population point.

11. In the ideological support for restructuring, the improving of the ideological and moral climate in the republic, the developing of a Marxist-Leninist ideology among the workers, high political culture, a class approach to social phenomena, an activist position in life and high moral qualities must be considered the prime cause for the Central Committee Buro, the party gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations. Immediate measures must be taken to improve the

forms and methods of ideological and mass political work, to strengthen the effectiveness and timeliness of the press, television and radio, to improve the effectiveness of political studies, lecture propaganda, the unified political days as well as seek out new forms and means of ideological effect and decisively get rid of routine forms of political work with the masses. The center of political indoctrination must be shifted directly into the labor collectives.

Sociological research must be initiated, public opinion must be studied, the public must be immediately informed on all major questions, a decisive struggle waged against all sorts of rumors and fabrications, and there must be a wider practice of the effective television dialogues and meetings of all ranks of leaders at enterprises and organizations.

The party gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations and all the ideological institutions must substantially improve the international and patriotic indoctrination of the workers, particularly the youth, and develop the level of internationality relations. Internationalist traditions must be strengthened, and the manifestations of national egoism, exclusiveness and conceit which run contrary to the fundamental interests of our people must be consistently eradicated. The economic and cultural ties with the fraternal Union republics must be developed in every possible way.

Measures are to be taken to halt the migration processes which have a destabilizing effect on the situation in the region, and maximum concern must be shown for each family and each citizen of the republic regardless of nationality.

The Buro of the Armenian CP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Armenian Council of Ministers must strengthen work in implementing the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers on Nagorny Karabakh and in every possible way develop socioeconomic and cultural ties with the NKAO.

12. The party, soviet, trade union, Komsomol and social organizations must fundamentally revise their work in the area of the moral indoctrination of the workers, particularly the younger generation. We must act decisively against phenomena which are alien to our society such as the theft of socialist property, bribery, speculation, protectionism and violations of the principles of social justice.

In all labor collectives it is essential to establish a situation of social condemnation of the violators of our morality, and a consistent and effective struggle must be waged against the manifestations of a philistine, consumer psychology and parasitism.

The capabilities of the creative intelligentsia must be efficiently used in carrying out the tasks of improving the ideological and moral climate in the republic, for bringing it out of a crisis situation and for improving the patriotic and international indoctrination of the workers. In the existing situation, it is the duty of the creative unions and their primary party organizations to take effective measures to increase civil activeness of the writers, artists, composers, cinematographers and all cultural and literary workers, and their responsibility to the people and society in adding to our spiritual values and establishing high moral ideals.

The Armenian Council of Ministers in the established order is to examine the question of building a monument to the victims of repression from the period of the cult of personality in Yerevan.

13. The Armenian Ministry of Public Education, the party gorkoms and raykoms, the gor- and rayispolkoms, in accord with the demands of the February (1988) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee are to eliminate the serious shortcomings in carrying out the reform of the higher and secondary school, they must improve the quality of instruction, pay more attention to developing a communist morality and train active fighters for restructuring.

The prestige of the Armenian language is to be steadily strengthened, the necessary conditions are to be established for its development and enrichment and in all schools the teaching of Armenian is to be improved. Serious attention is to be paid to the study of Russian as a language of international intercourse.

There is to be a steady and effective concern for the questions of improving vocational guidance for students as well as the strengthening and development of the physical plant of institutions of learning. There must be the unconditional fulfillment of the plan for specific, noncompetitive admission to the nation's VUZes.

The Agency of the Armenian Council of Ministers under the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow, the Ministry of Public Education, the Armenian Academy of Sciences, the creative unions and social organizations should work more to strengthen ties with our compatriots from other regions of the nation in the aim of using their forces and capabilities in enriching scientific and cultural life and developing the republic economy.

Cultural ties with overseas Armenian communities are to be constantly strengthened and developed. The work of organizing the repatriation of Armenians from overseas countries to Armenia must be reorganized. Particular attention should be given to overcoming immigration moods. Concern and attention must be strengthened for the new citizens of our country, and their sociodomic and other needs more fully satisfied while the level of ideological-indoctrination and explanatory work amongst the repatriots must be increased.

14. The Buro and Secretariat of the Armenian CP Central Committee, in accord with the demands of the times, must be obliged to decisively alter the style, forms and methods of work. Attention must be focused on the principle questions of developing the economy, the social sphere and cadre policy. In the Buro and Secretariat, it is essential to establish an atmosphere of a free and frank exchange of opinions, comradely exactingness and reciprocal demandingness as well as a personal responsibility of each for the assigned work area.

The line must be energetically carried out of establishing Leninist principles in the recruitment and placement of the personnel. At the current stage it is important to ensure the influx of new, fresh forces into leadership work in order that the most important areas be headed by convinced fighters for restructuring who are capable of running things on a modern level. In accord with the requirements of the 19th Party Conference, it is essential in every possible way to develop the democratic principles in personnel work, in recruiting and promoting personnel to widely consider the opinion of the primary party organizations and the labor collectives as well as show great demandingness for everything concerning the moral conduct and the professional qualities of the workers. Greater demands must be placed on the leaders and their responsibility increased for the state of discipline and the moral-psychological climate in the collectives.

In a spirit of Leninist demands, it is essential to firmly carry out the line of having persons of a nonindigenous nationality living in the republic be represented in the party, state, trade union, Komsomol and economic bodies.

The party gorkoms and raykoms must be concerned daily with improving internal party life and they must increase the militance and authority of the primary party organizations. Constant attention must be paid to the questions of increasing and improving the quality of the party ranks.

It is essential to thoroughly analyze and critically assess the course of the report and election campaign and ensure that each meeting be held in a situation of high principledness, a frank discussion of the state of affairs and greater exactingness for each communist for the results of restructuring.

It is essential to strengthen the leadership of the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the people's control bodies and bring about an energetic restructuring of their activities and the development of initiative and professionalism. The opportunities of the soviets must be better utilized in carrying out economic and sociocultural tasks.

15. The crime prevention bodies must bring about a fundamental change in the work of strengthening the fight against crime, and decisive measures carried out to

improve the prevention of infractions, to promptly expose crimes, and ensure the inevitability of punishment for violators based on the strictest observance of socialist legality.

Particular attention must be paid to realizing effective measures aimed at an irreconcilable struggle against the theft of socialist property, corruption, bribery and speculation which have become widespread in the republic. The acuteness and principledness of procuracy supervision must be increased.

It is essential to have a fundamental improvement in the work with the personnel of the bodies and we must decisively rid ourselves of dishonest, compromised persons. The bodies of the police, procurator's office and courts must be filled with politically mature, well-trained and morally flawless cadres.

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The Plenum of the Armenian CP Central Committee expresses the firm conviction that the republic communists and workers, in carrying out the political course of the 27th Party Congress and the ideas of the 19th Party Conference, and in implementing the responsible tasks set out for the Armenian party organization in the speech by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev, at a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of taking an active part in the work of overcoming the phenomena of stagnation in the economy, the social sphere and improving the ideological and moral situation in the republic.

#### **Kazakh 1st Secretary Kolbin on Changes, Improvements in Party Organization**

*18300088a Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 18, Sep 88 pp 23-29*

[Article by G. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh CP Central Committee: "Restructuring and Party Work: Experience, Search and Problems": "Elective Organs: Functioning in Accordance With Their Authority"]

[Text] I do not believe I would be wrong in saying that among the numerous vitally important, timely issues discussed at the 19th All-Union Party Conference delegates' attention was drawn in particular to those problems which pertained to democratization of Soviet society and radical reform of our political system. And that is only natural, since it is the status of these issues which is currently in sharp contradiction to the concepts of restructuring and acceleration developed by the party.

Our experience during the more than three years that have passed since the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum indicates that the positive changes occurring in the political, economic and social life of our country and our republic could be significantly more substantial were it not for the burdensome heritage of the period of stagnation, which continues to generate serious

resistance to processes of revolutionary renewal. Looking the truth in the eye, we must acknowledge that those processes remain difficult, complex and contradictory. We have thus far succeeded only in halting the slide toward economic and sociopolitical crisis; we have by no means achieved a decisive turnaround.

In order for restructuring to become irreversible it is essential that we thoroughly dismantle the braking mechanism and take from bureaucrats' hands the levers of power which they have used to substitute bureaucratic centralism for democratic centralism. It is also important that we do everything possible to ensure direct worker participation in the preparation and realization of state decisions and in monitoring of how administrative organs function. This can only be achieved by implementing a comprehensive reform of the political system, the components of which reform are set forth clearly in a resolution adopted by the party conference on this matter.

The task we face is difficult and multifaceted. Our success will depend to a decisive extent on how effectively processes of democratization occur within our own party, the political vanguard of society. In this connection I would like to discuss in greater detail several aspects of the functioning of party committees and their role in restructuring party work and raising communists' level of businesslike activism.

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When evaluating any facts, events or phenomena it is important to have a point of departure. For the Kazakh party organization that point, one could even say the principal milestone of restructuring, was the CPSU Central Committee resolution entitled "On the Work of the Kazakh Party Organization With Regard to the Internationalist and Patriotic Education of Working People."

This political document is of a truly comprehensive nature, because in it the concepts of patriotism and internationalism are not considered in isolation, but rather within the context of their interrelation with a broad range of problems that affect the quality of our lives. Including intraparty life. One of the principal requirements of this CPSU Central Committee resolution is that our republic's communists devote their primary efforts to the establishment of order in their own house, the party. The resolution points out that the development of an unhealthy social and political situation in Kazakhstan "...was to a great extent fostered by the unprincipled stance of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro and flagrant violations of the standards and principles of party leadership by former Central Committee first secretary D. A. Kunayev. His work style manifested subjectivism, ignored collective leadership methods and encouraged servility and toadyism. Nepotism became firmly entrenched, and [the first secretary's] inner circle included many individuals who abused their official positions for the sake of personal gain."

A harsh but fair appraisal!

It should be noted that the moral and psychological stress created by the disturbances of December 1986 in Alma-Ata presented a real threat of slowing down the pace of restructuring, which was already excessively slow in our republic. It was demanded that the Central Committee Buro take extraordinary measures to accelerate the process of renewal and improve the style and methods of party work with the aim of bringing about visible positive change both in the realm of social and economic development and in the social and political life of society. It was necessary to do everything possible to ensure that people had faith in us, had faith in their own strength and abilities, were convinced that our difficulties could be overcome and that even the most difficult problems could be solved.

The first thing that the largely new membership of the Kazakh CP Central Committee Buro did was to reject decisively the previous lack of principles and affirm an atmosphere of high standards, mutual exactingness and necessary party strictness in the work of the Central Committee Buro and apparatus and its plenums. It was in this connection that individuals who had undermined the authority of the republic party organization and hampered the cause of restructuring were expelled from the Kazakh CP Central Committee.

In the Central Committee apparatus alone 18 persons were relieved of their positions on a vote of no confidence. Approximately 30 percent of the responsible officials working in the party obkom, raykom and gorkom apparatus were replaced. Analogous work to purge all types of careerists, time-servers, yes-men and morally decadent individuals was conducted in soviet, trade union, Komsomol and economic organs. Today we can state that there has been significant improvement in our cadre corps and that new, fresh forces who are free from the weight of past errors have joined in restructuring. Most importantly, people have seen that the communists of our republic are serious about eradicating protectionism, bribery, exchanging of favors and other negative phenomena which have had an extremely negative effect on the moral atmosphere.

A great deal has been done to restore the principles of social justice. The people of Kazakhstan have been quite satisfied with measures taken to eliminate the various closed stores, with the struggle against "plants," with the establishment of order in waiting lists for housing, and so on. I speak of this because all these things have in one way or another helped increase respect for party organs and have strengthened people's faith in the honest and pure title of party member.

However, despite the importance of and need for this work we have not regarded it as an end in itself. It is rather a preliminary stage, a sort of clearing of the site before the start of a large and difficult job. Genuine respect must be won in daily, persistent, painstaking

work aimed at resolving old social problems which have been accumulating for many years, problems which have long been growing must faster than we realized. The low level of housing construction is particular cause for alarm.

I would like to state frankly that many Central Committee members with whom preliminary discussion was held concerning measures to accelerate the pace of housing construction were not very enthused about new approaches to this problem. On the contrary, the ideas proposed seemed almost utopian and absolutely unrealistic to some of them. Others, after weighing all the pros and cons, cautiously suggested that we postpone publication of the housing program, justifying their position by saying that in that case if nothing came of it no one would criticize us. This is the same as saying let us hold on to our authority by being beyond criticism.

As I recall these arguments today I tend more and more to the conclusion that they were not motivated so much by caution and reason as by the usual antidemocratic principles which have become entrenched in the party decision-making process. Drawn up in the quiet of apparatus offices in violation of the Leninist principle of collective decision making, those decisions were far removed from reality and did not receive the support of the masses. Therefore they did not touch people's hearts and souls at all, but instead lay like a dead weight on bureaucrats' desks.

This vicious circle had to be broken. At the next Kazakh CP Central Committee Plenum we submitted the program we had drawn up under the title "Housing'91" for broad discussion, and we also published it in the press. In doing so we proceeded upon the assumption that the task to which we had set our hands was an unusual one: not merely to increase the rate of housing construction, but also to reach record levels which had never even been dreamt of in our republic before. Therefore hoping that this task would be performed "quietly," without the most effective, active participation by all working people, would be equivalent to irresponsible project mania. Only by all working together could we make progress on a problem which had long since joined the ranks of the obviously unresolved.

This was the answer we gave to those who were afraid to risk losing their respect among the people: you have to have a thing before you can lose it. And who needs respect and authority, if they do not serve the people's welfare, if they are only used for self-preservation!

The results of open, frank discussion of the difficult situation which existed in housing construction in our republic exceeded even our highest hopes. On 7 November 1987 our annual program for housing completion was fulfilled for the first time. This was made possible to a decisive extent by the fact that when tallying construction results it was not abstract square meters that were used as the scale, but instead the rate at which people on

the waiting list for housing moved ahead. Strict adherence to schedule—not less than 10 percent of the housing required by the annual plan every month—permitted us to get the construction conveyor operating smoothly and forced us to seek and find more and more new resources for material supply without interrupting the flow of construction.

Today no one doubts the reality of our housing program anymore. People are certain that next year the plan will also be fulfilled by the November holidays. This certainty, as well as the joy of the people who move into new homes, guarantees the authority of the party decision—an open, specific, well-balanced decision.

But I say frankly that our resolutions are not always imbued with a constructive spirit, have clear objectives or take possible social consequences into account. Why is this? Why do members of party committees often unanimously, fatalistically, approve resolutions composed of general phrases that do not bind anyone to do anything? Because they are certain that the resolution being adopted is not a program of action. Is it discussed, do people wrangle over it the way people fought, for instance, over resolutions at the 19th Party Conference? No. Our resolutions are often a model of formalism. In the final analysis it is not the resolution adopted by an elective organ which has authority, but rather the secretaries and apparatus of party committees.

This sort of voluntarism takes away people's initiative and reduces the role of elective party organs to the level of a collective voting robots. In the process the full-time apparatus of party committees inevitably grows stronger, beginning to issue commands instead of organizing the implementation of decisions. Members of the apparatus have often gone out of their way to draw up vague, personally convenient resolutions which precisely as a result of their vagueness open up broad opportunities for command- and pressure-oriented leadership methods.

The question arises: how to expand the role of elective party organs, how to break the current system, in which they are in fact subordinate to the apparatus of party committees? First of all, as was noted at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, it is essential that we restore the authority of elective organs as the fully empowered representatives of communists. We must frankly admit that we have not yet learned how to work with the elected aktiv. The old stereotypes are too firmly entrenched. Let me quote some data gathered in a survey of the secretaries of party raykoms who recently completed advanced training at the Alma-Ata Higher Party School. In response to a question whether their party raykoms had drawn up a sufficiently clear-cut program for the implementation of restructuring for each of its members, approximately 20 percent of those surveyed replied in the negative, and over 55 percent mentioned only partial measures.

Even without a survey, with the naked eye, so to speak, it is quite evident that even within the Central Committee of the Communist Party many members who did not have the requisite knowledge of the forms and methods of party work were merely present in the party leadership organ. Therefore, beginning in February of last year we organized seminars for Central Committee members; this helped us get a clearer idea of where to direct the efforts of the elected aktiv and what are the duties of both the professional party workers and the heads of enterprises and organizations, rank-and-file workers and kolkhoz members who comprise the Central Committee. Similar seminars are now conducted by party obkoms on a regular basis.

This has had a noticeable effect by increasing the activism of the members of elected party organs and has made many of them think about their actions and appraise them in a more critical manner. A speech given at a plenum of the Taldy-Kurgan Party Obkom by V. Uskova, a specialist at a poultry factory, was typical. "I," she acknowledged, "did not intend to speak, but yesterday I attended a seminar and have been going over in my mind what I heard there... Special demands should be made of us as obkom members. What is the role of an obkom member? Often people in my collective say to me 'you are in our elective organ, you can accomplish a great deal.' Yet to tell the truth I myself had a very vague idea of what specifically I could do. Previously we did not even receive any instruction. Yesterday we had a seminar and many things became clear to me; I began to have confidence in my own power."

One of the most important preconditions for the healthy, normal life of a party organization is consistent affirmation of the principle of collective leadership. Unyielding adherence to this principle is dependable protection against subjectivist, palliative decisions.

Collective discussion and an enthusiastic attitude toward matters under discussion on the part of all members of an elective organ or primary party organization are as a rule the result of thorough preparation, detailed and comprehensive study of the nature of the problem to be resolved and creation of an atmosphere favorable to a free and businesslike exchange of opinions. It could be said that it is precisely this approach to the consideration of timely, pressing agendas at party meetings, plenums of party committees and meetings of the party aktiv at the rayon and city level which is becoming typical of all branches of the Kazakh CP.

In what specific ways do preparations for plenums today differ from the practices of past years?

First of all, preparations are conducted with a view toward practical development of methods and means of resolving those problems which have remained unsolved for years. Preparations are now of a multi-level nature, from the Central Committee down to party raykoms.

The progress of preparations is discussed broadly by the mass media through newspapers, radio and television. Virtually all newspapers in our republic now have a "Public Opinion" column where workers' responses to measures taken by party committees for the purpose of establishing order, restoring standards in party life and solving social problems are published daily. In order to provide the most objective record of public opinion the Uralsk Obkom and a number of other party committees have set up sociological research centers. Typically, after the conclusion of a plenum the newspapers will continue to publish materials about how the plenum's decisions are being implemented.

The second fundamentally important characteristic of plenums today is that now all members of party committees are acquainted with reports prior to plenums. Toward this end many committees have made it their practice to publish in advance the theses of reports. Surveys are now taken, and members of party committees also visit labor collectives. The final draft of a report takes into consideration the opinion of a broad range of communists and working people. Preparations for plenums do not consist merely of a search for "hard facts," as was once the case, but instead a "breaking-in period" for practical ways of resolving problems through broad intraparty democracy.

Finally, party committees have ceased drawing up lists of speakers in advance; now anyone who wishes to address a plenum may sign up at the plenum and do so. "Open" microphones have been set up in the auditoriums, allowing people to make short, businesslike suggestions from the floor.

The preparations for and conducting of Central Committee and obkom plenums devoted to accounts by buros concerning their leadership in restructuring have evoked a particularly strong response. When preparing to give our account we turned to all the members of the Central Committee, and through television to all the communists and working people of Kazakhstan, with a request that they express their opinion concerning the work of the Central Committee Buro overall, as well as about each of its members personally, and that they suggest ways to deepen restructuring further.

We received quite a few letters. This is further evidence of expanding democracy and glasnost and improvement in our republic's moral and psychological climate; this fosters an interested, concerned attitude on the part of people toward problems in public life. The majority of letter writers point out serious shortcomings which prevent us from laboring fruitfully and living normally. But at the same time we see a very important and typical feature: the letters are more than just griping about existing problems—almost every one contains a specific, businesslike suggestion about ways to eliminate those problems and eliminate the things that slow down restructuring.

All suggestions and comments made by communists have been discussed by the Central Committee Buro, where, on the basis of the objective state of affairs, reports were issued on each member of the our collective organ of leadership. I will not conceal the fact that some of them heard some not very pleasant things about themselves for the first time, and this was a hard blow to the vanity of certain comrades. Concern was expressed that perhaps it was not a good idea to air these reports at the plenum, much less publish them in the press. Would this not undermine the authority of buro members in the eyes of our republic's communists?

The sober approach triumphed, the realization that without broad-based criticism and self-criticism there can be no genuinely democratic system, and hence no real political creativity on the part of the masses. And who should set an example in this respect if not the members of the Central Committee Buro? We needed to help people free themselves from old stereotypes in their views of democracy, from their former inertia and indifference.

It is precisely the spirit of high standards and genuine partylike adherence to principle which was noted in workers' letters received by the Central Committee after the plenum. People correctly realized that the Central Committee Buro had begun its criticism of the shortcomings that hamper the process of renewal by first of all criticizing its own failings. And in their opinion this in no way lessened the buro members' authority but rather, on the contrary, increased confidence in the course being followed by our republic today.

All party obkoms have also set up working groups comprised of obkom members. These have worked on a number of matters essential in preparations for plenums and have analyzed the work of party committees and party organizations toward realization of restructuring. During its preparations the Severo-Kazakhstanskaya Party Obkom alone received approximately 600 comments and suggestions from communists and non-party members concerning ways to improve party leadership. All of these comments and suggestions were summarized and reflected in the report.

In short, new approaches to the preparation and conducting of obkom plenums have made possible more careful preparations, full glasnost and broad opportunities for the conducting of democratic debates and discussions and the drafting of specific decisions. The main focus of attention is to ensure that the resolutions adopted are designed to perform specific tasks rather than just be a collection of words like "raise," "increase," "improve" and other purely emotional appeals. When they vote for a resolution the members of an elective party organ should be quite certain that precise implementation of each point in that resolution will definitely lead to a radical breakthrough in resolving the problem in question.

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The transformations which the party is calling upon us to make require quite a different level of democracy and the practical ability to live and work under fundamentally new conditions. As stressed at the 19th All-Union Party Conference, lessons of truth have prompted the growth of self-awareness and self-purging in our ranks. Communists, party organizations and the party press have begun to project themselves more energetically in society and to pose and resolve pressing problems more boldly. True, we still encounter individuals who are coasting along and observing the scope of democratization processes; some are getting nervous and are warning us that democracy could turn into chaos.

What are the real reasons for anxiety on the part of some party leaders? What is disturbing their former mental tranquility?

On every hand we are beginning to see unfamiliar phenomena which frighten some comrades. Who would previously have dared to publicly accuse the highest leader of a rayon, city or oblast of being a do-nothing, incompetent or incapable of doing his job properly? Now people are dispersing the halo of sinlessness which in the past protected certain individuals from criticism and are openly expressing their opinions at rallies and meetings, often finding themselves at odds with the positions of the party workers who hold the reins of power.

I do not want to get onto the subject of to what extent this criticism is justified or unjustified. The issue here is a different one: what is our reaction to these phenomena? We hear cries of outrage: look, they have let the people go wild—where will this kind of democracy take us?! Sometimes we hear frank concern or even a negative opinion concerning the pending election of first secretaries of party committees to the post of soviet chairmen: just try to get past the "sieve" of a secret public ballot!

Of course, this will unavoidably entail losses. But can we call it a loss or even feel sorry for those who in one way or another are forced to give up the positions they hold, getting in step with the logic of our times? As a result of strict, very demanding selection we get an enriched, particularly valuable body of human material of high business and moral quality, the kind of leaders who are truly equal to the performance of responsible restructuring tasks.

Essentially, the people who are alarmed by the people's growing self-awareness and frankness are not worrying about a real problem; they are concerned for their own positions. Though they have turned their hands and their tongues to phrases about revolutionary renewal they often do not know how to apply correct slogans to a specific task, how to make people feel an urge to find practical solutions to urgent problems. In this connection it is particularly important to direct attention to democratization of cadre work, to the need to ensure

that real leaders assume leadership positions, leaders who have support not only within the party but also among the broad working masses.

As you are aware, the 19th All-Union Party Conference amended the procedure by which elective party organs are formed. Now genuine competition, discussion of candidates and secret balloting are becoming standard practices. The question of who becomes a member of a party committee will to a large extent determine whether that organ will operate efficiently and function to its full potential.

However, innovations in cadre work do not implement themselves simply because resolutions have been adopted. The so-called "questionnaire" approach is still too prevalent; with this approach the most important things are a person's current position and a "clean" service record rather than personal qualities, political maturity and public activism. This above all is what we must work resolutely to overcome.

The principal guarantee that worthy people will be elected to party committees is the fact that communists now have a right to nominate more candidates than there are available positions in elections to all party committees. Many of our republic's party committees have long-range and current plans for making various improvements in the system of cadre elections on the basis of this statute. For example, Kustanay, Uralsk and Dzhambul party obkoms have drawn up a Comprehensive Cadre Program which makes provision for further strengthening and development of democratic principles, expanded glasnost and competitive elections along with the most important aspects of cadre policy. As an experiment the Chimkent Party Obkom is introducing a system for forming the cadre pool for promotion to leadership positions through study of public opinion and the use of surveys.

In order to get the members of elected party organs broadly involved in cadre selection and assignment a number of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms have established special working groups and commissions among their members.

Elections of raykom and gorkom secretaries are now beginning to be conducted on a competitive basis. This practice has already been approved by 10 gorkoms and raykoms. Four of them have elected first secretaries. For example, the buro of Leningradskiy Party Raykom in Kokchetav Oblast, after thorough consideration of the business and moral qualities of the individuals in the promotion pool, nominated A. Telegenov, chief of the raykom's agriculture department, and N. Mustafin, deputy chairman of the rayispolkom, to run in a competitive election for the vacant post of second secretary.

The atmosphere that prevailed at that plenum differed markedly from the customarily moderate and, to tell the truth, overly supervised situation to which plenum participants have long been accustomed. The candidates were the subject of lively, genuinely enthusiastic discussion. Raykom members pointed out the candidates' shortcomings and the weak points in their work style along with their positive features, giving businesslike advice and expressing their wishes. Typically, there were no representatives of the obkom or the raykom leadership among the speakers. Everything was decided by the members of the elective organ themselves. A. Telegenov was elected raykom second secretary on a secret ballot.

"This time we did not merely vote, we actually chose a secretary ourselves," commented A. Pochtarev, an equipment operator at the Menzhinskiy Sovkhoz, member of the party raykom buro and Hero of Socialist Labor.

Cadre certification is also yielding positive results. It permits comprehensive, objective evaluation of a staff member, with consideration given to the opinion of public organizations and the collective as a whole; it allows us to get rid of people who are half-hearted, lack initiative or continue to work in the old way. In 1987 a total of 126 staff members of party committees were either deemed unsuited for the positions held by them or were ordered to undergo the certification process again.

A responsible period in the life of our republic's party organizations has begun. The July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum elaborated measures aimed at realization of the decisions made by the 19th Party Conference; now our task is to bring about practical implementation of those measures. In this respect a great deal will depend on an active stance on the part of each communist and each member of our elective organs. How do we unite their efforts, establish a businesslike mood and foster greater initiative as restructuring processes take firmer hold?

The party's Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are seeking new approaches, conferring with the aktiv and returning over and over again to the suggestions received during preparations for the conference. I am certain that each party committee already has some experience with expanding the role and authority of elective organs. Therefore it is very important that that experience be generalized and put to work. I think this is a job for the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, which has the necessary cadres and methodology.

Obviously party committees themselves must also show initiative and work more energetically to realize practical measures aimed at unifying party ranks and strengthening all branches of the party. By affirming democratic principles and service to a cause in our own party home we will also strengthen people's confidence in the course selected by the party. Without this confidence on the

part of millions of people it is difficult to envision successful restructuring.

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### **August Uzbek CPSU Central Committee Plenum Tackles Agricultural Issues**

#### **First Secretary Nishanov Address**

18300057a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
27 Aug 88 pp 1-3

[Unattributed report: "The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee 11th Plenum. On the Urgent Tasks for Party, Soviet and Economic Organs in the Republic To Improve Food Supplies for the Population in Light of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The Report of Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee first secretary R.N. Nishanov"]

[Text] Comrades. The life of each labor collective and each party organization is today defined by the decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. They have found warm support and approval among the people because they are aimed at solving urgent tasks that brook no delay in improving people's living conditions and satisfying more fully their daily needs and requirements.

It is a question of the most acute and most important problems that have built up for the individual and for society—food, housing, public health, education, working conditions and the environment, consumer goods and services, and the organization of people's leisure.

The conference set the tasks in such a way that none of us has the right or the time to remain immobile, or for slow thinking about events taking place and the new political directions. Neither can there be any place for or expectation of additional instructions and directives or promptings from above. The need for real shifts in satisfying the daily needs and requirements of the workers goes far beyond the confines of our usual daily affairs. It is, if you like, the main criterion for the whole of perestroyka, the basic indicator for implementation of the instructions of the party conference.

Immediately following the 19th All-Union Party Conference the central committee buro reviewed the question of urgent measures to fulfill its decisions and defined the priority tasks to accelerate development of the social sphere, and strengthen the members of the central committee buro and leaders in the republic wing in the most important directions of this work.

**At the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum the Food Program was named as a radical socioeconomic issue.** For our republic this is of extraordinary importance. The massive account padding and falsification permitted has

done enormous damage first and foremost to the agro-industrial complex. We have discussed on more than one occasion the forms and scales of this truly colossal economic and ideological-political loss. Particular guilty parties have been strictly dealt with. If I may put it this way, the mechanism of reproduction of these abnormal phenomena has now been smashed, and a reliable system of guarantees that will prevent its re-emergence is being created. But we are still unable to state that social justice has been restored in full measure. Much work remains to be done, and in a party-minded fashion we share the alarm and concern about the state of affairs in the republic that the CPSU Central Committee is showing.

A special obligation has been laid on us in connection with the visit to the republic by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the advice and wishes he expressed during the course of his meetings with the party and soviet aktiv, specialists, the working class and workers in the fields and farms. This gave us an enormous charge of energy in the matter of considering the quest for directions and ways to insure accelerated development of the national economy and a way out of the impasses into which the republic has fallen.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet government are providing us with enormous assistance to correct matters in the economy as quickly as possible, and to insure stable work in all sectors of the national economic complex. The CPSU Central Committee recently adopted a number of resolutions aimed at accelerating the development of agricultural production and improving the ecological situation in our republic and in the entire region. We are receiving additional mechanisms, equipment, concentrated feed and mineral fertilizers from the center. A series of valuable pieces of advice, recommendations and comments on improving the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex and on accelerated resolution of the Food Program was expressed by CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary Viktor Petrovich Nikonov during his visit to kolkhozes, sovkhozes, industrial enterprises and other establishments in Fergana, Samarkand and Tashkent oblasts. Workers in our republic are trying to respond to the concern of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government with persistent work to provide the necessary return.

At the same time, the earlier extremes and distortions that were permitted have turned out to be so enormous that the position in a number of sectors, first and foremost food supplies for the population, remains exceptionally tense.

In these last years the per capita consumption of foodstuffs has not only not grown but in terms of a whole series of indicators has even declined. For many years we have produced only 16 kilograms of potatoes per capita, 138 kilograms of vegetables, 45 kilograms of melons, 75 kilograms of fruit, 135 liters of milk, and 110 eggs. In

terms of meat consumption the republic is 2.2 times lower than the average all-union level, while the figures for milk and eggs are 2.2 and 2.5 times respectively.

Today, therefore, V.I. Lenin's behest that "the real foundation of the economy is the food stock... without this state power is nothing. Without this stock social policy remains only a wish" is for us more urgent than it has ever been.

Proceeding from the instructions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference, the central committee has set the following task: by making active use of up-to-date forms for the organization of production and labor inherent in the new economic mechanism, to satisfy the population's demand for the most important foodstuffs as quickly as possible and by 1990 bring consumption of all kinds of products up to the level envisaged by the Soviet Union's Food Program.

**This present plenum of ours must comprehensively discuss practical measures to develop the food sectors and improve supplies of fruits and vegetables, meat, milk and other foodstuffs for the republic's population.** Much preparatory work has preceded this. Detailed discussions have taken place in the central committee with agrarian experts, agricultural leaders and specialists and the party aktiv. The measures submitted to the members of the central committee to build up production in the food complex have been examined in the party obkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations and labor collectives in the agro-industrial complex. About 3,000 representatives of the party and soviet aktiv and republic workers participated in preparation of the materials.

All those involved were in unanimous agreement that the republic has real major opportunities for solving the food problem rapidly and in a good way, and is capable of radically improving supplies for the population and significantly improving the efficiency of arable and livestock farming.

The republic agro-industrial complex occupies one of the leading places in our country in terms of availability of funding and energy resources. Each year more than R2 billion are invested in its development. However, the proper return from this is not being seen. For the country as a whole agricultural output per worker is R8,000, but in Uzbekistan it is half that figure—R4,000. Even in Tashkent Oblast, which specializes in food production, output per worker is only R2,700, while in Bukhara, Fergana, Surkhan-Darya and Kashka-Darya oblasts it is even less.

The main reason for the low return on capital investments allocated to agriculture is the following: they are not being underpinned with appropriate work to change economic relations in the countryside, activate the human factor and develop the social sphere in the countryside.

Our land reclamation work, the introduction of crop rotation and intensive technologies, organization of the agro-industrial complexes and agricultural combines and specialized sovkhozes, and the state of seed growing in the production of agricultural crops are unable to stand up to any kind of criticism.

It must be admitted that the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Buro and Secretariat and the republic Council of Ministers and the leaders of the republic agro-industrial complex have still been unable to insure any radical change in agricultural production and have not managed to analyze their work flexibly or self-critically evaluate it, nor the work of specialists, in restructuring the agro-industrial complex in Uzbekistan.

Today we must all understand that the party committees, soviet organs, and the leaders of the State Agro-Industrial Committee and of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the republic may lose the trust of the people if they fail to take energetic steps and urgent and effective measures sharply to increase the production of foodstuffs, starting from this year. This, dear comrades, is how acute the food problem is.

**Proceeding from the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, the republic central committee buro and Council of Ministers drew up proposals for the development of the agro-industrial complex for the period through 1995, and these have now been submitted for consideration by the USSR Gosplan and the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee. After appropriate work on these questions in those organs they will be submitted for consideration in the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government.**

They include stepped-up volumes for the production of foodstuffs by a factor of 1.5 and even 2.2 against 1987 growth rates. Already by 1990 we must increase meat production 24 percent, milk production 12 percent, fruit and grapes by a factor of 1.5, and potatoes by a factor of 2. I say candidly, comrades, that this is a difficult task, but it is quite achievable.

**There are now about 2,000 kolkhozes and sovkhozes in the republic and they are all involved in realization of the Food Program. The farms growing cotton have played and continue to play a major role in this. They account for about half of grain, vegetables, melons and potatoes, 80 percent of fruit, and almost 40 percent of milk and meat.**

I would like particularly to emphasize that cotton has been and remains Uzbekistan's most important national contribution and the foundation of its economic prosperity. The Food Program is in no way at variance with cotton growing.

In addition to the fiber, cotton provides about 500,000 tons of vegetable oil, 1.5 million tons of oil cake, and 500,000 tons of husks, which are a valuable food product

and protein fodder. Well-substantiated calculations show that for the republic as a whole 250,000 tons of meat (live weight) can be obtained from these fodders.

During the course of talks in the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee agrarian experts and agricultural specialists emphasized that given a rational structure for the areas sown and the use of intensive technologies and progressive forms for the organization of labor and wages, the cotton-growing farms can double milk and meat production. This is also seen, in particular, in the experience gained by the large "Malik" sovkhoz, which in 1987 produced 1,600 quintals of cotton, 800 quintals of milk and 140 quintals of meat (slaughtered weight) per 100 hectares of irrigated land. These are the kinds of reserves to be found in competent cotton growing and with organizational work by the party committees and other organizations concerned with reserves and the opportunities available to kolkhozes and sovkhozes in increasing the contribution from cotton-growing farms to the Food Program. I shall talk later about the kilogram production of meat per 100 hectares on other farms.

**Comrades, our work in grain growing is at a very low level.** As is known, no long-term prospects can be seen for expanding sown areas. Therefore, the source for obtaining grain remains yield increases on irrigated land and more efficient use of non-irrigated land.

Whereas in cotton growing we have gained a great deal of experience, and today we are talking about its further improvement, I have no hesitation in saying that in grain production, neglect and backwardness remain. This is shown by the fact that on irrigated land we obtain 20 quintals per hectare of cereals, while the figure for rice is 34 quintals. These are not indicators, comrades, they are simply disgraces. The crux of the problem is that in all oblasts grain growing is regarded as a secondary matter. Even in a favorable year the farms in Navoi Oblast (comrade Yefimov) reap only 7 quintals from non-irrigated land. How can we continue to work like this? Most of the non-irrigated land, from which we must obtain stable harvests of at least R1 million tons of grain in any weather conditions, is located in this oblast, and also in Dzhizak, Kashka-Darya and Samarkand oblasts, and we are obtaining only about half of this and losing any solid addition to food resources.

And this is all because in grain production we have not had the necessary number of equipped links and brigades and are doing a poor job of introducing leasehold, brigade and family contracts. Yesterday in Kattakurganskiy rayon Viktor Petrovich was talking with leaseholders. One of them told of his own experience in working on non-irrigated land: under this years' conditions he has obtained 18 quintals of grain per hectare. He believes that non-irrigated farming in our republic can provide 15 to 18 quintals of grain on a steady basis. Why is it that one person can achieve this while another alongside obtains only one-third the amount? There is

only answer: in grain production there is little order, and at the local level they fear even to offer non-irrigated land for leasehold but stand around waiting for special instructions. And chaos and confusion also reign in the specialized rice-growing farms. Year after year there is no decline in fields sown to rice but yields are already down to 75 percent. Instead of obtaining 50 to 60 quintals of rice per hectare we are now obtaining 34 to 35. The poor organizational work of the party and soviet organs and of the agro-industrial complexes is obvious here. The only recently defunct Glavsvredazirsovkhozstroy (led by comrade Tursunov) failed to do the appropriate work in field planning. We can no longer use irrigated land to produce only 34 quintals of rice. It is essential to set serious tasks to increase rice yields and to use every effort to accomplish this.

Before the plenum, in conversation many leaders, scientists and rank-and-file rural workers expressed the thought that the republic has opportunities and should increase the production of grain for forage. They rightly advised that the grain areas should be sown to barley, triticale and oats and mixtures of them with legumes. Only this can increase the yield of nutrient mass per hectare by a factor of almost 1.5. It is essential to make more complete use the experience of our Bulgarian friends who have visited the republic; this year, 65 to 80 quintals of corn per hectare are already being harvested from the best land in Tashkent, Syr-Darya and Dzhizak oblasts. In short, we must turn to the non-irrigated land, and the task is plain—to bring the total grain harvest up to 2 million tons in 1990, and by the end of the next five-year plan to increase this figure by another 20 percent, with average per hectare yields of 30 quintals, including 55 quintals for rice and 65 to 70 quintals for corn throughout the republic. Only then can we talk about serious gains in the Food Program.

**It is common knowledge that the republic is a major producer of fruit and vegetables and melon crops, and this places Uzbekistan in a special position in terms of its contribution to the Food Program, both for its own program and the all-union program.** Nine rayons and 285 kolkhozes and sovkhozes specialize in this sector. However, the republic failed to fulfill the plan for a single type of fruit or vegetable, either in the 11th Five-Year Plan or in the first 2 years of the current five-year plan.

**Let me start with potatoes as, I think, the most neglected section.** In Syr-Darya, Tashkent, Andizhan and Kashka-Darya oblasts last year the plan for potato production was only half fulfilled. The legitimate question arises: why? I am evidently not in error when I say that the leaders of the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee and its oblast and rayon subdivisions, and also the kolkhozes and sovkhozes talk constantly and unjustifiably about the impossibility of growing potatoes in the local climatic conditions. But, see, many years of practical work at the sovkhozes "60-let USSR" in Shavatskiy rayon in the Khorezm zone and the "Leningrad" in Rishtanskiy rayon in the Fergana valley, and of the

kolkhozes imeni Navoi in Chustskiy rayon in Namangan Oblast and "Pobeda" in Bagdadskiy rayon, which obtain 150 to 190 quintals of potatoes per hectare, refute these opinions. The secret of successes like these is enriching the soil with organic fertilizers, good seeds, the correct organization of work and the introduction of collective forms of contract.

Leaders in the Central Asian branch of VASKhNIL (comrade Akmalkhanov), the Scientific Research Institute of Vegetables, Melons and Potatoes (comrade Nuritdinov), and the Uzsosortsemovoshch Association (comrade Khodzhayev) have also given way to ruinous attitudes. And it still does not worry them, I say it candidly, that potato growing here is based on imported seed stock and more than 40 varieties are being sown of which only 6 are suitable for the zone. I think that we must halt all the polemic here and assume a firm position—quickly to organize specialized seed stock farms, first and foremost in Fergana, Samarkand, Kashka-Darya, Khorezm and Tashkent oblasts. This will create an opportunity by 1990 to more than double potato production against the 1987 level. And this position is supported by specialists who have participated in the discussions on the materials immediately before the plenum.

But even in this case the population's demand for potatoes will be satisfied only 50 percent and it will not be possible to halt imports of potatoes from other areas. On this subject a number of comrades introduced the following bold proposal: what if potato production is organized with the participation of republic rural workers in traditional growing zones in other republics and oblasts? The scheme could be experimental at first, and our densely populated oblasts could select one or two sovkhozes in potato-growing areas of the country where the republic could create a base for the production and storage of potatoes with subsequent delivery to points of consumption, and even into the all-union stocks.

The first secretary of the Fergana party obkom comrade Umarov recently visited Kalinin Oblast. There, an enormous land area of more than 500,000 hectares is not being used because there are no people; opportunities for growing potatoes are great. Why do not Fergana, Andizhan, Namangan and all the other oblasts send 500 to 1,000 people there to organize two or three farms? Housing is available and the shift method can be employed. All that is required is to work with sense and initiative. Comrades from the RSFSR and the first secretary of the Kalinin Obkom comrade Tatarchuk would totally welcome such a step. It is essential to move to this actively and the central committee and republic government are considering specific questions in the organization of this matter.

**Some different and new approach is also needed to the production of fruit and vegetables and melons.**

Why, for example, has production of these crops remained virtually the same in Tashkent oblast for the past 7 years while yields have been falling? Do the Tashkent Obkom and oblispolkom not see these alarming trends? Of course they do. But neither the obkom and its now former first secretary comrade T.A. Alimov nor the chairman of the oblispolkom, comrade P.M. Abdurkhmanov, nor the chairman of the oblast division of the State Agro-Industrial Committee, comrade N.I. Gusakov, have been properly demanding with respect to the leaders, and themselves stand aside from things. The plan for vegetables and melons is being fulfilled by various tricks and not, I think, without the knowledge of the party obkom and oblispolkom. Volumes are being achieved mainly through early cabbages and onions, and for melons through late-ripening water melons. And the range of products grown cannot stand up to criticism. Everything ripens at the same time and also instantly disappears. There are no early vegetables, no green crops. The plans are being fulfilled, but the acute nature of supplies for the population of Tashkent remains the same. This also applies to the leaders of Navoi, Kashka-Darya and Dzhizak oblasts, and indeed almost all oblasts. Overall, for the republic in 1987 some 296 farms, or one-third of them, obtained less than 100 quintals of vegetables per hectare. So that everyone is saying that no attention is being given to these crops.

You remember, do you not, the statement by farm leaders in Andizhan and other oblasts at our conference. On our land it is possible to obtain 600 to 700 quintals but the average is 100 quintals. This is a disgrace, comrades. Our procurement services are unable to obtain and market even the produce that is grown. In talks before the plenum the chairman of the kolkhoz imeni Zhdanov in Bostanlykskiy rayon, comrade Abdukhalikov, also stated that the difficulties in handing over produce are worse than growing it. On this score we have received many complaints in the central committee from horticultural associations and the owners of private subsidiary farms and from kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders. This is direct proof that the consumer cooperatives and other procurement organs, including the State Agro-Industrial Committee procurement services, are doing a poor job in organizing the procurement and marketing of agricultural output, while the private dealers in the market are able to dictate their own conditions because of this. And the cooperatives are making it worse.

Thus, in July the price for onions in the urban markets in our republic was 1.5 times higher than in Donetsk and Poltava, while the cost of beet in Andizhan and Termez was four to eight times more than in Kaunas and Rovno. Whereas in Tashkent a dozen eggs cost R2, in Frunze the price is R1.20, and in Aktyubinsk R1. Are we really unable to insure egg production?

We are now posing the task thus: in the matter of supplies of vegetables to people in the cities, this year we must make a serious change, and next year we must

eliminate the shortage in general and remove virtually all problems with the production, procurement and marketing of tomatoes, cabbage and other vegetable products.

We must set up special zones around each oblast center to grow fruit and vegetables, primarily in Samarkand, Andizhan, Namangan, Kashka-Darya and Syr-Darya oblasts. With regard to Tashkent city and oblast, starting in 1989 Yangiyul'skiy rayon, farms in Narimanov city, and perhaps a number of others, must switch entirely to this production. Together with the agro-industrial complex the oblast committee and oblispolkom must devise ways to solve this question.

In the opinion of leaders in Samarkand Oblast there are good opportunities for placing vegetable production on a firm foundation, for example, potatoes, and for supplying them not only to the population of Samarkand but also Tashkent city.

Proceeding from all this the central committee buro has entrusted the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers comrade G.Kh. Kadyrov with the task of organizing day-to-day control over the course of implementation of measures devised to increase the production and improve supplies of foodstuffs for the population. Together with the oblast leaders he must on a priority basis and in the most attentive way consider this matter in depth precisely on the basis of the calculations and achieve a situation in which this control is active and effective.

**The business of using hothouses is being corrected in the republic with intolerable slowness.** At the kolkhozes "Pravda" in Khankinskiy rayon, "Kommunizm" in Turtkul'skiy rayon, and "Kyzyl Uzbekistan" in Ordzhonikidzev'skiy rayon miserable harvests are being obtained per square meter of these expensive installations. In Dzhizak, Namangan and Syr-Darya oblasts only 50 percent of the possibilities of hothouses are being used.

Yesterday during conversation with agricultural specialists and field workers Viktor Petrovich reproached us for the fact that only 7 kilograms of vegetables are being obtained per square meter. Even worse, we have farms where they are obtaining only 3 or 4 kilograms. This is real mismanagement and irresponsibility. Is it really impossible to organize leasehold collectives on the basis of hothouse farms and make them operate efficiently and at a profit?

Many hothouses have been built with gross violations of the design plans or totally "by eye," and there are reports of hothouses without the essential technological equipment and without utilities. But the situation notwithstanding, the State Agro-Industrial Committee deputy chairmen comrades S.G. Khorev and T.N. Nabiye'ev think that the question of improving the use of and reconstruction of hothouses and the introduction thereof of leading experience do not affect them. I think that it is

essential before the onset of the cold weather to inspect all hothouse farms in the republic, close off all channels for embezzlement and theft, and bring every square meter of ground onto the accounts. All hothouses without exception must be handed over to families and brigades and contracts concluded, and we must insure that each square meter of hothouse space, regardless of whether it is located in Tashkent or in Shumanae, provides 20 kilograms of cucumbers, tomatoes and other produce.

**The development of very early potato growing and vegetable growing under plastic sheeting is a major unutilized reserve.** Experience gained in private subsidiary farms in Tashkent, Samarkand, Andizhan and other oblasts, and also ideas expressed by specialists and leaders indicate that real opportunities exist each year for growing an excellent harvest of potatoes and cabbage under plastic sheeting before 10 May, and for tomatoes before June.

In the cotton complex alone this kind of growing could occupy 200,000 to 300,000 hectares of irrigated land. After the harvest has been gathered in from this land, in some oblasts it is possible to sow cotton, and on all other farms, corn for grain and silage and other fodder crops. This kind of organization of production will also promote improvement in land use and enhance the material interest of rural workers.

Very rough calculations show, comrades, that the kollektives and sovkhozes in the republic can additionally obtain up to 1.5 million tons of potatoes under sheeting and as much very early tomatoes.

The central committee buro demands that the State Agro-Industrial Committee chairman, communist comrade Dzhurabekov and his first deputies comrades Antonov and Umarov take urgent steps to make a significant advance in sowings under sheeting during the next agricultural year. It is unforgivable to let slip this kind of reserve for increasing the production of foodstuffs under the conditions of our republic.

In concluding this analysis of the state of affairs in vegetable growing, it is essential to emphasize that we do have every opportunity for a sharp upturn in this sector. Vegetable yields should be brought up to 250 quintals for the republic. I have already told you that some of our farms are already obtaining 500 to 600 quintals of melons per hectare. And this means that realistically, by 1995 we can bring the total volume up to 4 million tons of vegetables and 1.2 million tons of melons. This will make it possible to make deliveries to all-union stocks and insure republic consumption of the norm of 142 kilograms, and provide the processing industry with constant raw materials.

**It is essential to restore the former glory of our horticulture and viticulture.**

First, it is necessary to bring the old sown areas into good order on irrigated land, in particular those established during the last 10 years. Here it is essential first and foremost to eliminate sparseness, which has reached more than 30 percent and sometimes up to 50 percent, raise grape vines on espaliers, and interest producers in work results.

During visits to some of the farms in Fergana Oblast the sparseness of our orchards was obvious. And in some of the Ministry of the Forestry Industry farms the position is even worse: sparseness is up to 70 percent. Meanwhile the ministry leaders are not dealing with this matter and a major reserve is not being brought into play. There are therefore virtually no walnuts, almonds, pistachios or dried apricots available in the trade network.

Of course, both last year and this the oblast committees and rayon committees and the ispolkoms have done much work to plant orchards, but now they must be really well cared for. And old orchards must be brought into good order. It pains us to say that over the years of the "rule of Rashidov" 100,000 hectares of orchards and vineyards perished, were plowed up for cotton, and are now producing miserable harvests. The orchards that previously were cultivated for years must be immediately restored.

Second, it is essential to use land in piedmont and mountain areas in the republic for the planting of orchards and vineyards; up to 200,000 hectares could be brought under cultivation. In the long term, according to available studies at least 1.5 million to 2 million tons of fruit and grapes can be obtained in those zones. This can be done with the least expense in Yangiurganskiy, Kasansayskiy, Kugrantepinskiy, Khodzhaabadskiy, Bostanlykskiy, Akhangaranskiy, Parkentskiy, Altynsayskiy, Kitabskiy and a number of other regions in the republic.

The development of fruit growing and viticulture will provide an opportunity for significant increases in the production of fruit and grapes, and an additional 200,000 to 300,000 of the able-bodied population can be employed in rural localities. That is, this is not only an economic but also an important social, and first and foremost a political, task.

**With its specialization, high population growth rates, limited land and water resources and lack of natural pastureland, our republic is experiencing serious difficulties in rapidly building up the production of meat and dairy products.**

Nevertheless, the experience of leading farms and studies by the scientific establishments and Gosplan show that given the correct use of available potential and the activation of all opportunities and reserves, and if the appropriate structural changes are made in the development of livestock farming, we are able to increase the production of meat significantly and meet in full our

own requirements for fresh milk and dairy products. In this connection it is essential to do everything possible during the next five-year plan to increase per capita meat consumption to 40 to 45 kilograms and milk consumption to 250 kilograms. The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee is setting this task for all communists and workers in the republic; there is no other way.

But the fact is that, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said at the CPSU Central Committee plenum, in order for a cow to be milked it must be fed, and in order to move things forward we must at a minimum work more. But this year more than one-third of kolkhozes and sovkhozes have not fulfilled plans for cattle and poultry procurement, there is a shortfall of 38,000 tons of meat, and 21 percent of farms have failed to cope with the plan for milk procurement while one in four has failed to meet targets for egg procurement.

One of the main reasons for delay in the intensification of livestock farming is underestimation of the importance of developing the fodder base. In most farms fodder production is still not regarded as a specialized sector operating on cost accounting, contract and leasehold. For the republic as a whole, this year there has been a shortfall of 52,000 hectares sown to fodder crops against what was planned, and of these, 40,000 hectares are located in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR and Tashkent and Kashka-Darya oblasts. And in those areas cotton is being grown on areas larger than those planned.

I would like to ask the following of the leaders of the soviet organs in these oblasts, first and foremost comrades D.S. Yadgarov, P.M. Abdurakhmanov and A.G. Kadin, and also the party committees: given this kind of attitude toward fodder crops, can we count on a sharp upsurge in livestock farming or on high milk yields?

Fodder procurement is now in full swing. However, many are working in a slipshod manner, as they say. And although from the status today it seems that the procurement plan is being fulfilled and we have reached last year's level, this is no justification for complacency. Last year's level can in no way be considered a yardstick for our republic; it was a low level and we must strive for better. In some oblasts procurement is going badly, in particular on farms in Andizhan, Navoi, Syr-Darya and Khorezm oblasts. But if one looks at things, virtually every oblast has very rich experience in growing sugar beet, corn, soybean, grain and alfalfa for fodder. When was it that 730,000 hectares of land in the republic were sown to alfalfa? With the correct approach it is possible to sow about 200,000 hectares to corn, soybean and other crops.

During our recent trips about the republic we have been convinced for ourselves of the high effectiveness of linked sowing, where 8 rows of soybean are sown after every 32 rows of corn. When this is done both crops develop beautifully. One brigade that has been engaged

on a contract basis plans to obtain 90 quintals of corn per hectare instead of the 45 quintals specified, and 40 quintals of soybeans against 25. Why is this experience not being copied?

**Now, comrades, permit me to deal with the main factors in the organization of production in livestock farming itself.** Over these past years the numbers of animals in the public sector have remained virtually unchanged, while the numbers of sheep are actually declining. Great variation is seen in livestock density. Whereas in Tashkent, Fergana, Khorezm, Andizhan and Namangan oblasts the figure is 13 to 17 cows per 100 hectares, in Syr-Darya and Kashka-Darya oblasts it is 6 or 7. But all farms in the irrigated zone should have at least 20 cows per 100 hectares of pastureland. And we are able to do this.

The difference in the level of meat and milk production according to rayons and farms has reached a factor of 10. On farms in Shumanayskiy, Leninabadskiy, Chirakchinskiy and Mekhnatabadskiy rayons only 5 to 11 quintals of meat are being produced per 100 hectares of pasture. At the kolkhoz imeni Kalinin in Kaganskiy rayon there are only two cows per 100 hectares, and only 71 quintals of milk are being produced. The chairman of this kolkhoz, comrade Dzhubarov, has been working there for 4 years and in all that time neither the party raykom nor the agro-industrial organs have ever really inquired about this irresponsible leader. Why are such attitudes permitted?

Last year in the autonomous republic and a number of oblasts, in particular Navoi, Kashka-Darya and Dzhezak oblasts, some of the cows did not have offspring and the farms had a shortfall of at least one-third in the production of meat and milk. We talk a great deal about barren cows but neither the State Agro-Industrial Committee nor the farms are taking the necessary steps in this direction. But maintaining just one barren cow for a year costs the farm R600 to R700 and output prime costs rise. We cannot just talk about this forever.

I think that the State Agro-Industrial Committee is also pursuing an incorrect policy in pedigree work. Each year some 30,000 to 35,000 young pedigree animals are imported in the republic at a cost of more than R50 million. This is enormous sum, comrades. Each year R50 million. At this rate, renewal all the herds at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes should have been completed long ago. The cost of purchasing the cattle is not justified but the State Agro-Industrial Committee organs and leaders and specialists in the rayons and at the kolkhozes and sovkhozes continue with a stubbornness that could be put to better use to import animals from other parts of the country while work to create their own pedigree base is poorly organized.

It would probably be correct to say that in this matter we are seeing the discredited style of work of the deputy chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee communist comrade Kh. Iskanov. He must draw the most serious conclusions from the discussion of this question at this plenum.

There are now many farms in the country that have obtained hundreds of highly productive cows from the method of embryo transplant, but in the past 8 years, even in their own departmental farm the VASKhNIL Central Asian branch and its chairman comrade Sh.A. Akmal Khanov have managed to produce only 4 calves using this method. Moreover, essentially nothing is being done to expand specialized farms in mountain and piedmont zones in the republic breeding Santa Gertrudis stock, or those in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR breeding the Kazakh Whitehead and other beef cattle.

Today, the Uzptitseprom Enterprise is operating well below its capacity. Only two-thirds of the capacities of the broiler batteries are being utilized. The process of renewing production facilities is being seriously delayed. Poultry productiveness is low and major losses of the birds are being permitted. And as a result, per capita consumption of eggs and poultry meat here is one of the lowest in the country.

Serious complaints have been made repeatedly against the chairman of Uzptitseprom comrade B.A. Piskunov, who is inclined to exaggerate the results of his own activity and is failing to take steps to correct the situation. A sense of collegiality is lacking in the management of poultry farming and bureaucratic rule flourishes. In his activity comrade B.A. Piskunov does not rely on the primary party organizations, often ignores the recommendations of communists and permits serious miscalculations in the selection of leading cadres. But Uzptitseprom's tasks are very great and we have told comrade Piskunov this in the central committee buro. In 1995 egg production must be increased to 1.9 billion and poultry meat to 145,000 to 150,000 tons, that is, it must be increased by a factor of 1.7 compared with 1987. This is a quite realistic target and comrade Piskunov and the leaders of the State Agro-Industrial Committee must reach it.

Many unresolved problems have built up on sheep farming, which is now annually producing 60,000 tons of meat (live weight) and up to 2 million karakul astrakhs and a great deal of wool.

Many of those here present at the plenum obviously remember that at one time the republic used to produce brynza but now this is forgotten. The fodder base is shrinking and the productiveness of pasture is declining; work to improve it is poor.

In the opinion of specialist in order to achieve an upsurge in sheep farming it is essential first and foremost to increase the fodder productiveness of pasture and the numbers of animals must be brought into line with the fodder base, which will make it possible to organize pastureland rotation and conduct regular work in plant improvement. However, a resolution adopted by the republic government in 1987 on this issue is not being complied with at all.

And again, in this connection it is necessary to talk about the style of work of comrade Kh. Iskanov. He is present at the plenum and I think that he will draw the appropriate conclusions.

We must sharply increase exactingness toward leaders and specialists in livestock farming for each particular sector and link their wages with final results and pay only for output rather than post occupied. This can be guaranteed only when the entire sector has switched to cost accounting and family and leasehold contracts.

In the days before the plenum we were able to talk with many leaseholders and leaders of brigade, link and collective contracts. They are doing many interesting things. They are fattening from 100 to 600 hogs and achieving good weight gains, and we are convinced that it is possible to work in the new way everywhere and introduce advanced forms for the organization of labor.

Another very important sector is karakul farming. I think that the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the Central Asian branch of VASKhNIL must deal more attentively with proposals to improve the management of karakul farms and further develop them.

In order to produce food crops it is essential to make more complete use of the possibilities of **private subsidiary farms at industrial enterprises and organizations**. We have repeatedly reviewed these matters in the central committee and government. Now things are somehow starting to move. Plots of land, equipment and water are being allocated. We have positive examples. For example, private subsidiary farming at the Uchkurganskaiy Oil Extraction Plant in Namangan Oblast (director comrade Umarov, secretary comrade Kh. Nabidzhanov) has produced 60 kilograms of meat and 92 kilograms of milk per worker, while in Kungrad (comrade A.M. Sergeyev and comrade D. Iskanderov) 136 kilograms of meat and 102 kilograms of milk were sold during the first half of the year per worker. At the same time in almost all oblasts they are not dealing effectively with this problem. As a rule the private subsidiary farms that have been established are being used poorly and quite often only 3 or 4 kilograms of meat and 5 or 6 liters of milk are being produced per worker. Why is this allowed? We are already allocating reasonable irrigated land and equipment but what if the leaders of economic facilities are incapable of organizing matters? It is simply that the attitude here is irresponsible.

**Private subsidiary farms belonging to kolkhoz farmers and sovkhov workers** constitute one of our major reserves. They account for almost half of livestock farming produce and more than 40 percent of fruit and vegetables. This is our great reserve and we must handle it much better.

In order to create maximum convenience for the public in marketing their extra produce the autonomous republic Council of Ministers, the oblsipolkoms, the State

Agro-Industrial Committee and its organs at the local level, and Uzbekbryalsh (comrade Makhmudov) must during this five-year plan finally organize permanent, full-time mobile, and seasonal reception and procurement points at all populated points, along with an extensive network of stores for outward sales of industrial goods in great demand, and do everything necessary for private subsidiary farming. This can be organized everywhere. Two years ago in Nukus comrade K.S. Saldyk and I familiarized ourselves with the organization of this work and it yields good results. But why is this not being done in other places?

The role of **horticultural and truck farming societies** should be significantly enhanced in increasing the production of fruit, berries, grapes and vegetables. A broad road is open here and all prohibitions have been removed. Both the moral and the material incentives have been created. The republic government has earmarked almost 8,500 hectares of land to organize new horticultural and viticultural societies. However, their practical establishment is being delayed until 5,000 hectares are allocated. Why are things going so slowly? It is not simply intentions and recommendations. There is a CPSU Central Committee and USSR government decree on this matter that must be undeviatingly fulfilled.

There is another sector that was also seriously discussed before the plenum. In our republic with its land and water resources there is a wonderful opportunity for developing the fishing industry.

In many oblasts, however, the productiveness of lakes does not exceed 7 to 15 quintals per hectare, and these are very low indicators.

The leader in this sector, comrade Kh.G. Ten, is displaying complacency and smugness. Six weeks ago we talked with him in the central committee and he said his indicators are double those of neighboring republics. First, this is not quite so, and even if it were how can anyone be satisfied with it? Here there are still many unnecessary and inaccurate opinions that the local population does not want to use fish. Absurd; there is no other way to describe this.

We can no longer reconcile ourselves, comrade Ten, to this kind of situation in the sector. In 1987 the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers specially considered questions concerning the development of the fishing industry and improvements in the organization of trade with fish and fish products, but things have not moved further. It is high time to deal strictly with those to blame for the way in which this matter has been organized.

I think that there is no need today to talk about the place and role of the collective contract in agricultural production. I have no doubt at all that you are all well aware of the party instructions on this. But let me say candidly that within the republic open sabotage has been seen in

this matter in some places. On this plane a letter to the central committee from a simple peasant from the "Buston" sovkhos in Parkentskiy rayon, comrade Radzhamatov, is of interest. Talking about the creation of cooperatives and the transfer of land under leasehold arrangements, he specifically names the enemies of perestroika and sees them in the farm and brigade leaders and specialists. He proposes the creating at the farm a council made up of simple authoritative people and giving it the right to determine who gets how much land and who can be trusted with a leasehold. The council members should monitor things and systematically inform the inhabitants about the work of the leaseholders. This letter is not the only one. These letters reflect the reality and they appeal to the party committees for action. The work is not simple and a creative approach is needed, but an approach that is decisive since it drives success in the matter. Today is not the time for a seminar, but I would like to say that we do have certain practical experience where in cotton growing and fodder production brigade leasehold collectives are formed to handle areas of 100 to 150 hectares or more to grow cotton and alfalfa and this does not work against crop rotation and it does provide results. In vegetable growing, horticulture and viticulture, dairy and meat livestock farming and other sectors of the food complex the long-term leasehold and family contract should be developed.

Research conducted by the Central Asian Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Economics has shown that the true reasons for the slow spread and low effectiveness of family and leasehold forms for the organization of production is the allocation of the worst land, lack of prompt delivery of resources for leasehold subdivisions, violation of contractual obligations for wages, and recruiting of leaseholders for work in other subdivisions of kolkhozes and sovkhos. This is also taking place.

When introducing contracts and leaseholds, the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the party and soviet organs must therefore pay particular attention to devising correct economic relations between the contract subdivisions and the farms, and to defining wages. It is very important that economic levers be simple and understood by all kolkhoz farmers and workers so that they have a clear-cut idea of the dependence of their wages on final work results.

Together with large-scale measures to further develop agricultural production, the most important source for augmenting food resources is **rational utilization of produce grown and its storage and processing**. It must be stated candidly that we have done almost nothing about these problems. We have only just started to build storage facilities, produce processing shops and so forth.

Today, the production capacities of this sector make it possible to process up to 1.5 million tons of fruit and vegetable products and grapes, more than 1 million tons

of milk and more than 500,000 tons of livestock and poultry (live weight), and produce about 200,000 tons of canned goods and 550,000 tons of vegetable oils. Considerable capacities have also been created for the production of flour, groats, pasta products and concentrated fodders.

Within the republic nature itself has created favorable conditions for growing and processing agricultural output for more than 200 days of the year, or 25 to 30 percent more than in other parts of the country. And for particular kinds of vegetables it is possible to obtain two or three harvests in that time. Meanwhile, it so happens that for a long time this advantage was not used and the most important sector of the national economic complex is today lagging in its development. Demands made on the processing industry for fruit and vegetables are today being only 60 percent satisfied, and for crops such as cucumbers, egg plant, peppers, scallop squash and other green vegetables only 5 or 6 percent of demand is being met.

At the same time, it must be frankly admitted that efficiency in the use of the processing industry, in particular in terms of the choice and quality of output produced, is no way meets present-day requirements and the growing demands of the workers. **Take, for example, the canning industry.** It specializes mainly in processing tomatoes (almost 60 percent), and produces mainly tomato paste in large packages. More than one-third of capacities in this industry are used to make grape products made mainly from grape juice. Canned goods of products in their natural forms, jams, preserves, and compotes enjoy broad consumer demand, while annual production is only 1.5 cans per capita. Things are particularly unsatisfactory with items produced for children.

Mismanagement in this matter has reached a point where neither the State Agro-Industrial Committee nor the consumer cooperatives nor state trade deals with the pickling of cabbage, tomatoes, cucumbers and water melons; it is a secret from no one that at the first frosts the harvesting of vegetables is halted. And the vegetables are plowed in and at the bases in the trade network the lost commercial products are written off in great quantities or in a best case scenario are used as livestock fodder.

It should also be emphasized that the development of the canning industry is proceeding in a one-sided fashion. Serious disproportions remain between capacities in the main production facilities and the preparation base. Overall, pre-production work on semifinished products is no higher than 15 to 20 percent of consumer demand in the republic. In practice this means that if this miscalculation on the part of canning industry workers were eliminated in available processing capacities, production of canned goods could be increased by a factor of 1.5, the seasonal nature of work could be spread evenly, and workers in the sector would have an opportunity to

earn a steady wage year round. But the main thing is that we would avoid the colossal losses from output that perishes at the gates of the processing plants in the summer at the peak of the season while it is waiting to be processed.

Another minor issue affecting this industry. Taking into account the structure and thrust in development of the republic's agro-industrial complex we must seriously review the principles used to locate canning plants and decisively abandon the construction of gigantic enterprises. On this plane the experience of Andizhan and Khorezm oblasts deserves to be disseminated. Today after the plenum we shall consider a number of enterprises in Tashkent oblast, where they have moved boldly to create mini-plants that can process the harvest right there at the farms.

Why cannot small lines be set up at each farm? Of course, production of the equipment needed for this must be set up right here in the republic. The enormous capacities of the agricultural machine-building industry must be used precisely for this.

**The sectors of the food industry** have an enormous role to play. Today there is a particular shortage of products such as vegetable salad oil and mayonnaise, and about half of the margarine used is imported from other parts of the country. For example, salad oil enjoys considerable demand among consumers and its technology is not all that complicated. However, its proportion has for 10 years been only 10 percent of demand. And during that time no one has tried to solve this simple problem.

For more than 20 years the problem of increasing margarine output has remained unresolved. Or a product such as mayonnaise. Its per capita production in the republic is ten times less than for the entire country. And it is sold virtually only in Tashkent city. And this under conditions in which we have adequate raw materials. The State Agro-Industrial Committee proposal that by 1995 output be doubled, bringing consumption up to 250 grams, does not seem serious.

The republic has repeatedly and justifiably been criticized for the fact that confectioner's items are imported here, and in great quantities. I think that the leaders of the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Ministry of Grain Products, Uzbekbryalsh, the Ministry of Local Industry, the Ministry of Trade and the Council of Ministers must deal with these problems. For we are producing only about 300 kinds of confectioner's items while the figure for the country is a minimum of 1,000. Let us state it candidly: in this matter, apart from the program that has been drawn up, we have nothing; there is no real consumption, no organizational work, no exactingness toward lower organizations. I think that comrade Kasymkhodzhayev personally and also the leaders of the Institute of the Food Industry (director comrade Solomov) should draw the appropriate conclusions from this.

**In a whole series of cities and rayon centers people's desire for a glass of carbonated mineral water or fruit juice drinks or kvass is becoming a year-round problem that is difficult to resolve.** And this is not happenstance. Five oblasts do not produce cold beverages at all. The republic is almost last in the country in terms of per capita consumption. Enterprises of the Uzbek SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee alone have had a shortfall of 3.8 million decaliters of nonalcoholic beverages and 16 million bottles of mineral water for the targets of the first 2 years of the five-year plan. According to the accounts there are 41 brands of nonalcoholic beverages but the stores are carrying only two or three kinds of beverages, and in the summer there are almost none. Production of bottles is very inadequate. Who, one may ask, is hampering resolution of this problem? Production volumes can be met merely by bottling beverages and water in a second and third shift. However, each year up to 500 tons of concentrated fruit juices and liqueurs are imported into the republic, which is 85 percent of enterprise consumption. Meanwhile, the State Agro-Industrial Committee has all the facilities for producing them locally, and in not bad quality.

One of the most acute and painful questions remains processing of meat and dairy products. The problem lies not only in constantly building up the volumes of republic domestic production but also in organizing better processing of these products. The existing procedure for acceptance, transport and processing of livestock farming produce does not insure complete safekeeping or efficient use. Only one-fourth of farms are delivering milk for processing in cooled containers; most of the available cooling equipment is out of order. During the first half of this year more than 20 percent of the milk received from farms in Navoi, Samarkand and Tashkent oblasts was of substandard quality. At dairies in Nukus, Almalyk and Bukhara spoilage is as high as 50 to 60 percent of certified output because of violations of production technology.

Bringing proper order to enterprises in the meat and dairy industry, dealing decisively with losses and theft, and the extensive introduction of resource-saving technologies and scientifically sound norms for output should become the decisive factors in increasing meat and dairy products. Over the next two or three years it is essential—and every opportunity exists for this—to increase the output of low-fat and nonfat dairy products, meat products using second category sub-products and protein and other supplements, and use at least 80 percent of buttermilk and whey.

**One major factor hampering resolution of this entire range of problems is the unsatisfactory state of affairs in developing the material base for the processing sectors.** The two-year plan for the commissioning of capacities for processing livestock and cotton seed and the production of whole-milk products, groats and concentrated fodders has not been fulfilled. As both client and contractor in 1987 the Uzbek SSR State Agro-Industrial

Committee failed to build a slaughter house with refrigeration equipment in Beruni city, where of the R560,000 allocated by the plan not a single ruble was used. A plant for the production of cans for infant feed has been under construction for 4 years in Kattakurgan city (the contractor is the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Construction); it was to have been brought on line in 1987.

It is high time for the leaders of Uzagropromstroy and other construction ministries and departments and planning organizations to make radical changes in attitudes toward development of the food sectors and insure fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee demands that projects in the agro-industrial complex should be regarded as a most important construction site. Without this we shall never resolve the Food Program.

**We must also deal with the fact that extremely poor use is being made of the opportunities available to the consumer cooperatives in terms of the production of foodstuffs.** The Uzbekbryalsh and its chairman comrade A.M. Makhmudov are operating listlessly and no kind of perestroyka can be seen, nor is it visible for the long term. I would like at this plenum today to express serious dissatisfaction with the work in this sector. Judge for yourselves: the per capita production of fruit and vegetables canned goods and nonalcoholic beverages here is less than half of that for Tsentrsoyuz overall. Many foodstuffs do not meet the requirements of state standards and are being rejected by trade organizations. Complaints about the quality of sausage products are particularly great. This year 100 percent of the products from sausage shops in the Navoi, Bostanlyk and Kuvinskiy rayon consumer societies was rejected during an inspection. We can no longer reconcile ourselves to this kind of attitude toward food supplies for the population.

The sugar problem has now also reached the republic. It is superfluous here to talk about the details; today it is more proper to entrust the Gosplan, Ministry of Trade, Uzbekbryalsh and comrades Iskanderov, Litvinenko and Makhmudov personally with the task of investigating this question and coming up with specific proposals so that we may provide an intelligible answer to the inhabitants of the republic and dispel any kind of false rumors.

**The workers are making many justified complaints about the quality and choice of bread and bakery products,** and reconstruction and technical remodeling of enterprises are proceeding only slowly. Shortcomings have not been eliminated in the marketing of bakery products. The ispolkoms of the local soviets, the republic Ministry of Grain Products and Uzbekbryalsh must accelerate the retooling of bakeries, insure greater choice of bakery items up to 15 to 20 different products, and everywhere introduce progressive methods for the transport of and trade in bread.

Comrades. In line with republic proposals, during the 13th Five-Year Plan it is planned to allocate 1.7 times more compared with the current five-year plan to

develop the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex. Capacities will be built up mainly through reconstruction and modernization to produce 1.4 times more canned fruit and vegetables and meat and bakery products, 1.7 times more whole-milk products, and almost twice as many confectioner's items. It is planned to organize production facilities for pectin, frozen potato products and dry breakfast foods, all new for the republic. When this is done the location of the processing sectors will be mainly in the zone of the buildup in agricultural and livestock farming production. For the food industry overall it is planned to insure output growth of R1.8 billion against the R370 million expected during the current five-year plan. Thus, output volumes for foodstuffs for the industrial sectors of the agro-industrial complex will reach R6.9 billion, or a growth factor of more than 1.4.

Comrades. Life has repeatedly confirmed the rule that if the Soviet person is surrounded with everyday concern and normal working and everyday conditions are created for him, then there is no task whose resolution is beyond him. Therefore, successful realization of the Food Program requires from party, soviet and economic organs immediate resolution of the very complex set of questions connected with the **social restructuring of the countryside** and radical improvement in everyday and trade services for its workers.

Many agro-industrial committees, ispolkoms of local soviets and kolkhozes and sovkhozes leaders are failing to understand the political essence of this very acute social problem, while party committees are tolerant toward it.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat recently reviewed, along with other republics, the accountability report of comrade G.Kh. Kadyrov on lack of discipline among leaders who are communists in complying with party instructions on the priority position of construction of agro-industrial complex projects. The very postulation of the question and the accountability report from the chairman of the republic Council of Ministers to the CPSU Central Committee were designed to insure adoption of specific measures to strengthen construction in the countryside and resolve complex social problems as quickly as possible.

We must all change our attitudes radically toward rural construction sites and find additional opportunities for improving cultural, trade, everyday and medical services for the rural population. To this end it is essential to be more active in using the assets of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and workers' personal savings, and develop cooperative construction and build projects using the economic method.

Party committees, the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies and the State Agro-Industrial Committee organs must take these matters under special control.

**Trade and consumer services** constitute an important direction in the social sphere. According to expert calculations, loss of time for the republic's population spent on shopping and obtaining services correspond to the annual losses of labor resources in industry. The proportion is unpleasant: millions are standing at lathes and machines while just as many stand in line. This fact alone is sufficient to declare a people's war against queues. But some trade leaders still think that it is precisely bustle and queues that demonstrate efficient work.

And sometimes the queues are not so much an indicator of some kind of shortage as they are the result of ill-considered and sometimes simply deliberate actions by certain sales managers.

Today, only 1 percent of the stores in the republic selling food operate in two shifts, and more than half of the stores close on Sunday and only particular units operate on a continuous work schedule throughout the week.

We must decisively normalize trade, and just as decisively build up agricultural products. The negatives have become too deeply rooted here. Take the interruptions in trade in items for which there is adequate choice; how can they be explained? Store No 33 of the Kirovskiy rayon food trading center in Tashkent was recently checked. There was no rice, butter or vegetable oil, dairy products, eggs, flour, salt, canned goods or Tashkent water. Even though in line with the minimums laid down for choice, these products should be available. I am now convinced that everything is available; let us finally through our joint efforts make an end to this irresponsibility.

One of the factors in unsatisfactory trade and the creation of queues is the lack of packaging materials. Industry and the subdivisions of the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee have remained aloof from resolution of this question and continue to trade in bulk. Little more than 30 percent of the total output volume of trade in foodstuffs is carried on with the production and delivery of foodstuffs in small containers and packages. For comparison let me say that in Belorussia, the Ukraine and a number of other republics the proportion of packaged goods produced is two or three times greater than here. At the same time the "Urtak" confectionery factory in Tashkent is producing no more than 10 to 15 percent of its output in packaged form while even a modest demand for this is 45 percent. The Tashmaslozhirkombinat is producing no more than 30 percent of its output in packaged form instead of the 80 percent planned. The Uzptitseprom offers no packaged meat or eggs in boxes at all. Overall, the Uzbek SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee is offering only 15 percent of confectionery items in packaged form.

The problem of developing the material-technical base for trade deserves special discussion. At the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum the need was

stressed to decisively rid ourselves of the various kinds of offices and reduce their numbers and transfer premises to the trade and everyday enterprises. The funds allocated for these purposes should be assimilated fully and on schedule. However, the ispolkoms of the local soviets are allocating less than 2 percent for the development of trade instead of the 5 percent planned deductions from capital investments for housing construction. And in Navoi, Kashka-Darya, Surkhan-Darya, Dzhizak and Syr-Darya oblasts and the Kara-Kalpak ASSR they are allocating 10 to 15 times less than planned. Over the past 2 years, from one funding source alone state trade has experienced a shortfall of enterprises with a total of 2,500 locations and more than 75,000 square meters of trading area.

The discredited practice of taking premises from trade enterprises without offering other equal premises continues. And this is happening at a time when availability of trading areas in the republic is only 70 percent of the norm, while the figure is 50 percent for warehouse premises and only 41.7 percent for storage facilities.

**The continuing theft of socialist property in all the processing sectors and in trade is doing serious harm to the cause of fulfilling the Food Program.** According to figures from the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs in the first half of the year alone about 20,000 persons were arrested for petty theft; they had taken an enormous amount of output. In dealing with this, we must say, accelerating evil, we unfortunately do not see any decisive actions on the part of the people's control organs.

I would like to remind you that the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Buro has entrusted the first secretaries of the oblast party committees, the chairmen of the ispolkoms of the local soviets, and the first secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms and party organizations with the task of enhancing the responsibility of economic leaders for the social reorientation of the economy, insuring a greater political role for the primary party organizations in this important matter without waiting for instructions from higher up, and every day finding and implementing nonstandard decisions to bring proper order to the consumer services sphere, starting with the as yet unutilized reserves.

Taking into account the importance, urgency and volumes of this work, control over has been entrusted to Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee second secretary comrade V.P. Anishchev, who must organize a thorough investigation of the matter with the appropriate leaders and the subdivisions that they head.

Comrades. In life, it is specific people who implement policy. The course of realization of party policy and restructuring of the economic mechanism depends largely on their selection, training and indoctrination. But I shall be telling no great secret if I say that many national economic specialists and leaders of kolkhozes

and sovkhozes and enterprises in the services and processing spheres have still not mastered the new approaches and still think in the old way.

The problems of indoctrinating politically active, ideologically mature and professionally competent superintendents must be resolved at the student's desk and by actively involving the party organizations and the scientific intelligentsia in it. Here in the republic we train personnel for the agro-industrial complex in four higher schools and 46 secondary training establishments, and each year about 5,000 specialists graduate.

However, the quantity has nothing to do with the quality, and the level of training for most graduates does not stand up to any kind of criticism. The number of specialists aged under 20 with higher and secondary specialized education employed in agriculture in the republic is more than four times higher. There are now about 150,000 of them. Nevertheless, no noticeable qualitative renewal has been seen in the agricultural sector. For example, the number of engineers in agriculture has doubled since 1980 to 15,000, while the level of mechanization in cotton growing has remained at the same level. Taking into account the rayon wing, each farm has 40 or 50 specialists but most questions concerning agricultural techniques, zootechnics, and engineering and economic questions are being resolved using the methods that their grandfathers employed.

This is happening because sometimes the teachers teaching the students have only a book knowledge of agriculture. Parallelism and duplication in the work of the VUZes, and in particular the tekhnikums, is leading to dissipation of already meager efforts and means. For some professions, twice as many specialists are being trained than are needed by agriculture.

We expect greater activity from the numerous detachment of scientists engaged in agricultural problems. Up to now, however, they are not justifying our hopes. Although, of course, if we give them the opportunity they will cite for us many impressive figures and millions of developments assimilated on the scientific cornfield. But you will agree, comrades, that the best judge of this is the real state of affairs in field and farm, in the cotton gin and so forth, and here, unfortunately, for years, for decades nothing has changed, and indeed positions are being yielded up in some things.

Comrades. The fate of the Food Program and of all perestroika depends to a decisive degree on the positions of the party committees and organizations. As M.S. Gorbachev noted in his report to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, without the guiding activity of the party perestroika will be doomed politically, ideologically and organizationally. In practice this means that on any sector of the building of socialism the role of the party organizations should be decisive and vanguard in fact, and it is obvious and essential that no doubts remain on that score.

Let us be candid. We have still been failing in the degree of influence exercised by the primary party organizations on solutions to urgent social tasks. Even the spark of activity born out of the discussion of the conference theses, when many specific and interesting proposals and wishes were forthcoming, did not lead to the expected growth in combativeness and activeness in the lower links of the party at the stage of practical realization of the tasks set by the conference.

Let us look at the record of party meetings. As before, the faded agendas and "standard duty" questions on work results for the quarter, half-year, year, watered down to no one knows what, and no decisions binding upon anyone. Many of the lower links are working while looking all the time over their shoulders at higher organs, waiting for instructions from above on everything. And even most of the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are not showing themselves as examples of radical restructuring in the style and methods of work for the primary party organizations, or in mastering fundamentally new forms for organizational and political activity.

Take, for example, the Bukhara party obkom. Measures circulated by it throughout the oblast on the subject of preparations for an oblast party conference were literally copied from old schemes, and it is unjustifiably regulating the very smallest stages of the preparations while neglecting the main thing, namely, broad participation in this work by the elected aktiv and the delegates to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and democratization of elections for leading party organs.

Today increasing important attaches to measures such as strengthening party influence in key directions of perestroika such as the regrouping of party forces and concentrating the most experienced and authoritative communists on the decisive sectors. From these positions, how does the work of the party organizations in the republic look?

In Tashkent oblast almost 70 percent of subdivisions in the oblast agro-industrial complex have been switched to collective contract in arable and livestock farming; one brigade in 4 and one farm in 15 have introduced a check form for expenditure accounts. However, perestroika in the economic mechanism is still not being accompanied by corresponding changes in the party structure aimed at increasing the influence of the party organizations. At half of the livestock farms there are no shop party organizations or party groups, and at one in eight there is not a single communist. To make up for this, in the management apparatus of the oblast agro-industrial complex the party representation exceeds 50 percent. As they say, comment is superfluous.

We must decisively correct these disproportions. It must become the rule that those communists freed up as the result of perestroika in the management system who

have great experience and good professional skills are sent primarily to strengthen the lower party wings and the primary party organizations.

This is the more essential since the secretary of the party organization in the countryside is often a weak-willed person whose opinion no one knows. Particular alarm is evoked by the fact that the rayon party committees are also often involved in the indoctrination of the pleiads of "pocket secretaries." They sometimes prefer to "groom" the bold, nonstandard party committee secretary and bring his actions within the framework of the sad stereotypes of servility.

A typical example. At the sovkhos imeni Rokossovskiy in Arnasayskiy rayon a sharp conflict arose between the secretary of the party organization comrade U. Azlarov and the director comrade E. Boltayev, who was manifestly ignoring the party committee and its decisions and himself hired and fired personnel and did not consider it necessary to attend party meetings and gatherings. And—and this is the saddest part of it—in this situation the party raykom in the person of the now former first secretary Kh. Khudayberdyev supported not the party organization and its secretary but the high-handed manager. Moreover, the party raykom initiated a sophisticated persecution of the secretary of the party organization that almost culminated in his expulsion from the party. It was only the intervention of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee that put an end to this ugly story.

The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms each through its actions must strengthen the authority of the primary party organizations and their leaders. During the course of the accountability reports and elections it is not the "pro forma" leaders but the real leaders who have advanced perestroika and supported their own labor collective and party organization who must lead the primary party organizations.

Another no less important question is enhancing the role of the party organizations in the selection and placement of economic personnel.

Some 41,000 practical people with no credentials are working in the posts of specialists in the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and interfarm enterprises in the republic, and they also make up more than half of middle-level managers. At the same time, tens of thousands of specialists with diplomas, on whose training enormous sums have been spent, are working in posts that do not require a higher or secondary education. And they are often jaded by fate and unfulfilled dreams.

In our view this situation persists primarily because the party organizations have still not faced questions of the rational utilization of specialists, and in turn this has created fertile soil for the relapses that still occur in the

placement of personnel at farm level according to attributes of personal loyalty and kinship, when the business qualities and level of professional training give way to clan affiliation.

Each of us must understand that until we purge ourselves of all this dross we shall not rid ourselves of ingrained methods for selecting and placing economic personnel and specialists and we cannot count on any serious and palpable results in perestroyka.

Harvests and technology are in the hands of the specialists and managers. They are responsible for them and we should demand this of them. But the individual and his attitude and spiritual world are the prerogative of the party organizations. Hence your task and mine—to create and develop a mechanism that insures a positive party influence on the entire set of “operator-perestroyka and perestroyka-operator” interrelationships.

But for this we must first and foremost turn to people and their needs and wants, and rid ourselves decisively of any desire to serve our time in an office but must radically restructure all party political work.

As we consider the problems of the Food Program today we cannot but notice that the serious blunders and shortcomings that are still occurring in implementation of that program can be largely explained by the unsuitable work style of the central apparatus of the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee and its leaders. Here, as before the command-administrative method flourishes in the management of agricultural production and the paper shuffling and speechifying continue. In 1987 some 5.5 times more accountability reports and information materials were demanded from the lower subdivisions than during the preceding year. The flood of paperwork continues to grow and in the first quarter of this year alone more than 4,000 documents were passed “downward.” At the same time it has become clear during the course of an inspection that more than 500 resolutions and more than 2,500 orders promulgated during the time when the agro-industrial complex was being created are being monitored by no one, and many of them no longer have any practical significance.

Here, in addition to the planned meetings of collegiums, the so-called “small collegiums” and chairmen’s meetings are convened 12 to 15 times each month. But the simplest questions remain unresolved for years. Thus, 3 years ago in Tashkent a branch of the Moscow Institute of the Canning Industry made up of 50 people was set up, but no premises could be found for them. Evidently the officials from the rural economy are reluctant to make room for them.

The State Agro-Industrial Committee party organization and its secretary comrade Yu. Akmalov are failing to exert any proper influence on the work of the communists. The resolutions do not even contain allusions to any principled evaluation of those to blame for the failures in particular sectors.

Central committee buro candidate member and chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee comrade I.Kh. Dzhrabekov must draw his conclusions from what has been said.

Comrades. The entire analysis given in the report of the reasons for the slow resolution of problems in the Food Program directly indicates that the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Buro and its secretaries are still not relying enough on the central committee members and are showing little exactingness toward the party apparatus and to cadres in general in solving urgent problems.

The Organizational Party Work Department headed by comrade P.V. Dogonkim must show greater persistence and inventiveness in the search for ways to transform each party organization into a real leader of the masses in the struggle for perestroyka. This process is still moving only slowly.

Responsibility for this must also rest with our ideological subdivisions headed by central committee secretary comrade M.Kh. Khalmukhamedov; ideological support still remains mainly a slogan or phrase while in fact the party organizations, particularly in critical situations, turn out to be surprisingly impotent and powerless. It is essential to make adequate time for the forms and methods of offensive, precisely offensive, propaganda of the ideas of perestroyka that is capable of providing a well-reasoned rebuff to any demagogues and “homespun philosophers” and of bringing the masses with it.

We in the central committee buro feel that we must be more active in seeking out and more bold in introducing up-to-date and understandable forms of work that are interesting for the masses. For example, for the first time the central committee leaders have appeared on television—a direct line. The people approved of this and valued it. Now we must follow up on this.

The time has come for the republic Council of Ministers and the members of its presidium to assume full and serious responsibility for solving questions concerning economic and social development. Delineation of functions is a two-sided movement. The party organizations must not relax their efforts where the soviet and economic organs are not building them up.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize with a proper sense of responsibility that supplying the public with foodstuffs and solving social problems is the line of transforming party slogans into practical deeds from which Soviet people can judge the real achievements of perestroyka. Resolution of these questions will be a real test of maturity and the ability to effect perestroyka not in words but in deeds for every communist and every party organization and committee, a test that the entire people will undergo.

This is why when evaluating any decision of the Soviet or economic organs, in particular in the sphere of the economy and social development, the party organ is obliged to pose one main question for itself: how does this relate to the tasks of perestroika at a given stage and is it working on this and does it promote, or on the contrary hamper, improvement in the living standard of the Soviet individual? It is our opinion that herein lies the profound essence of party leadership in the process of improving the national well-being. And no one will solve these questions for the party, only the party itself can do this. This is the point for the application of effort by the primary party organizations, the party raykom, gorkom and obkom, the central committee and all of us, dear comrades.

#### Plenum Resolution

18300057a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
3 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Resolution of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee 6th Plenum: On Urgent Tasks for the Party, Soviet and Economic Organs in the Republic in Improving Food Supplies for the Population in Light of the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference."]

[Text] 1. The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum notes that the 19th All-Union Party Conference has become a major event of enormous historical importance for the fate of the country. The conference adopted decisions whose realization will make it position to accelerate significantly the processes of perestroika and radical economic reform and the democratization of Soviet society.

In the socioeconomic sphere a most important task has been set, namely, accelerating the resolution of urgent problems of the national well-being, first and foremost significant improvement in food supplies for the country. The party regards this as a fundamental socioeconomic issue.

At the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum the Uzbek SSR was criticized for stagnation phenomena and the low return from capital investments in agriculture. Per capita consumption of foodstuffs is not increasing and the increased volumes of agricultural output are meeting only the requirements of a growing population.

The main reason for the existing situation is the unsatisfactory use of natural and climatic conditions and the economic potential of the agro-industrial complex. Over the last 17 years some R36 billion of capital investments have been allocated for its development and fixed capital has risen by a factor of 5 but gross output has risen only 40 percent while the output-capital ratio has declined one-third.

The proper interest is not being seen at the cotton plantations in assimilating crop rotation, increasing yields from cotton plants and freeing up irrigated land for food crops. Development in the fruit and vegetables sector lags seriously behind the targets set for the Food Program. In recent years the number of specialized horticultural and viticultural farms has declined, and in most oblasts gross fruit and vegetables harvests have shrunk. Potato growing is in a deplorable state and only one-third of demand for this product is being met from our own output. Yields from fruit, grapes and vegetables remain low and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are systematically failing to fulfill production and procurement plans in the proper range. In many oblasts volumes of stone fruits purchased have been almost halved and contracts for their deliveries to all-union and republic stocks are being violated. Only 50 percent of the potential of hothouse farms is being utilized. The problem of uninterrupted supplies of fruit and vegetables for the population of Tashkent city and other industrial centers remains acute.

Grain growing is being developed in an unstable manner and over the past 5 years plans for the production and supply of rice to the state have not been fulfilled. No effective steps are being taken to eliminate the very gross violations permitted in the past in the construction and operation of collection-and-drainage networks or to prepare land and improve its condition.

The central committee plenum emphasizes that the level of party leadership in the development of livestock farming is not on a par with the demands and tasks being set to satisfy public demand for foodstuffs. At many kolkhozes and sovkhozes opportunities are not being used to increase herds of cattle by making appropriate arable land available. Numbers of sheep and goats are declining. Pedigree and veterinary work is unsatisfactory and techniques for fattening and maintaining cattle and poultry are not being observed and many labor-intensive processes in livestock farming are not mechanized. No radical improvement has been achieved fodder production.

No palpable results have been felt in work in the fisheries sector. Capital investments allocated for its development are being underutilized. Production of commercial output is shrinking, questions of fish processing are being solved only slowly, and trade in these products is unsatisfactorily organized.

The plenum considers quite impermissible the underestimation in the republic of the role of private subsidiary farms at enterprises and organizations and citizens' private subsidiary farms and horticultural societies in improving supplies for the population. Measures devised to develop them are not being implemented by many ministries and departments or the ispolkoms of the local soviets.

The status of bases for the storage and processing of agricultural produce is a bottleneck and as a result considerable losses are occurring and quality is falling. Construction of a number of new enterprises and reconstruction of existing enterprises are being delayed. Questions of supplying the processing sectors with their own raw materials, and also equipment and packaging materials, are being resolved only slowly. Many enterprises are located far from raw materials zones and reception and processing of fruit and vegetables and other foodstuffs are not concentrated in production zones. Insufficient use is being made of reserves for improving supplies for the population through the production of low-fat and fat-free dairy products and meat products using protein and other supplements.

No significant shifts are taking place in improving consumer services and this sphere has become a brake in improving people's social well-being. The republic Ministry of Trade, Uzbekbryalsh and the ispolkoms of the local soviets are not taking effective steps to eliminate the causes of queues to make purchases.

The plenum emphasizes that perestroyka in the entire system of control and management is still proceeding extremely slowly in the agro-industrial complex. Introduction of the new economic mechanism is being unjustifiably slowed and the leaders of many party, soviet and economic organs have reconciled themselves to instances of formalism and stereotypes in the organization of contract forms of labor and providing incentive for them, and in the development of leaseholds and cooperatives in agricultural production and the processing sectors. The number of farms operating at a loss or with low profitability is declining only slowly. No work is being done to hand them over to leaseholders or cooperatives. Timidity and indecisiveness are being shown in creating agro-industrial combines, agro-trade firms and other formations that have given a good account of themselves and are based on the integration of production, processing and marketing of output. Considerable numbers of farm managers and middle-level managers and specialists have inadequate knowledge of economic management methods and are being poorly trained for work under the new conditions.

Party, soviet and economic organs are still underestimating the importance of social development in the countryside and improvements in the workers' everyday conditions and medical, cultural and trade services for them.

The plenum considers that the party committees and primary party organizations bear primary responsibility for the state of food supplies for the population. However, the decisions adopted in food questions are not being properly underpinned by organizational and political work. The party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms are not showing high exactingness toward manager communists and are reconciling themselves to instances of irresponsibility and inertia; political leadership methods

are being mastered only slowly and bureaucratic rule and the command-pressure style of work has not been abandoned. The ispolkoms of the local soviets are not making full use of their right to coordinate the work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes and trade and procurement organizations, or the possibilities of private rural farms and citizens' private subsidiary farms, nor in seeking out additional food resources. The contribution being made by the Central Asian branch of VASKhNIL and other scientific institutions remains low.

2. Proceeding from the instructions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum, the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum makes it incumbent upon the central committee buro, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, communist leaders in the soviet and economic organs and public organizations to focus all their organizational and political work on resolving the food problem, regarding it as an urgent and most important task.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee measures for 1989-1995 to improve food supplies for the population in the republic are in the main approved. The central committee buro is assigned the task over the next 2 to 3 months, giving due consideration to wishes expressed and criticisms voiced, of devising real measures, having agreed the main indicators for prospects in the development of agricultural production and the processing base with all oblast and republic agricultural organs and subdivisions and also the all-union Gosplan and State Agro-Industrial Committee.

Guaranteeing the harvesting and procurement of high yields grown this year and marked improvement in food supplies for the population should be considered a top priority task. By the end of the current five-year plan meat production should be increased 25 percent, milk production 17 percent, fruit and vegetables production by a factor of 1.5, and potatoes by a factor of 2, and the level of rational norms for the consumption of grain products, pasta items, vegetables and vegetable and animal fats must be reached. By 1995 production of foodstuffs must have been increased by a factor of 1.5 to 2.2 compared to 1987. Along with the increase in per capita consumption of food products, the republic's growing obligations for deliveries of fruit and vegetables and grapes to all-union stocks must be met.

3. While advancing this stepped-up and quite realistic task, the central committee plenum deems it necessary to direct the efforts of the party committees and primary party organizations, the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, the ispolkoms of the local soviets, the State Agro-Industrial Committee, the Central Asian branch of VASKhNIL and the Academy of Sciences, ministries and departments, economic organs at the local level, and trade union and Komsomol organizations to make more complete use of the production potential that has been

created, deepen scientific developments and their introduction, and accelerate development in the food sectors and trade sphere; and to consider significant improvement in food supplies as a major sociopolitical matter.

To this end the following must be done:

- in 1990 to complete the assimilation of cotton-and-alfalfa crop rotations in crop growing, draw up scientifically sound farming systems for each kolkhoz and sovkhoz, and insure the extensive introduction of intensive technologies. By the end of the five-year plan gross grain harvests must be increased to 2 million tons, and by 1995 to 2.3 million tons through better yields.

There must be a radical change in attitude toward development in the fruit and vegetables sector and the production of commercial products should be concentrated in specialized farms. An economic mechanism must be devised that insures interest on the part of producers in growing fruit and vegetables in the required range and in accordance with contractual deliveries. For year-round supplies of fresh vegetables for the population the return from hothouse farms must be increased and by 1990 yields must have been raised to 20 kilograms per square meter, and by 1995 to 25 kilograms. In potato growing more attention must be paid to developing seed growing, production specialization and concentration and expanding growing under plastic sheeting;

- in livestock farming the most important task must be considered as increasing the highly productive breeding females, bringing the proportion of cows in herds to 35 percent by 1990 and achieving milk yields of at least 3,000 kilograms and average delivery weight increases of 450 kilograms for cattle. Steps must be taken to intensify sheep farming and each farm must have a sheep-raising sector with indoor premises for the animals. The transfer of hog-raising complexes to an industrial basis must be completed and the construction of new poultry batteries and the reconstruction of existing batteries must be accelerated. Urgent steps must be taken to create a stable fodder base and to bring areas sown to fodder crops up to 1.5 million hectares by 1995. Work rates in pasture restoration and renewal must be increased;

- the development of private subsidiary farms at enterprises and organizations and citizens' private subsidiary farms and horticultural and truck-farming societies must be promoted in every possible way as a major reserve for increasing food resources. Questions associated with the allocate of land for them, along with seed stock, young animals and essential tools, must be resolved promptly. The Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and republic State Agro-Industrial Committee must strengthen control over realization of decisions adopted and measures drawn up on these matters.

4. The plenum emphasizes the special urgency of creating in the republic a developed base for the storage of agricultural produce and capacities for processing it so that everything grown in the fields and produced at the farms will be delivered to the consumer in the best possible condition. The republic Council of Ministers, Gosstroy and State Agro-Industrial Committee must implement exhaustive measures to deal with the lagging that has been permitted and allocate funds and resources first and foremost for the construction of storage facilities and the development of capacities in the confectionery, oil-and-fat, meat-processing, canning, bakery and other sectors. All machine-building plants and repair enterprises in the republic must be involved in the work to re-equip these sectors.

Special attention must be paid in particular to bringing processing bases closer to places where raw materials are being produced, and to creating enterprises and low-capacity mobile shops. Proper processing of raw materials and waste-free technologies must be organized everywhere.

In the near future the State Agro-Industrial Committee must devise a program to provide the processing sectors with all kinds of resources and by the end of the five-year plan to reduce imports from other parts of the country to a minimum. Serious attention must be paid to improving the quality of output produced and to expanding the range. It is essential to increase the output of low-fat and fat-free dairy products, canned dinners and snacks and diet items for children, and to extend the range of juices, cold beverages and ice-cream. Additional possibilities must be sought out and within the next two or three years the task of producing 50 percent of meat and meat products, 80 percent of milk and dairy products and 40 percent of confectionery items in prepackaged form must be completed. Mass production of qualitatively new kinds of packaging must be organized for foodstuffs.

5. Showing serious concern for the status of food supplies, the plenum believes that in solving this important sociopolitical question the role and responsibility of communists and all workers employed in the sphere of consumer trade services must be sharply enhanced. A decisive struggle must be waged to eliminate queues and instances of overcharging and cheating customers and the creation of artificial shortages and other negative phenomena, and the trade sphere must be purged of unconscientious and dishonest individuals.

The republic Ministry of Trade, Uzbekbryalsh and the State Agro-Industrial Committee together with the oblsolkoms must insure the development of the material-technical base for trade during the current five-year plan and bring it up to normativs. Permanent and mobile reception-and-purchase points for fruit and vegetables must be set at all populated points, along with an extensive network of stores for the outward sale of

industrial goods and everything needed to manage private subsidiary farms. The number of trade and public catering enterprises operating on two and three shifts must be increased.

The practice of having markets for the sale of agricultural produce to the public must be extended, and the network of factory outlets must be expanded. Special attention must be paid to trade in fish and fish products and fishing areas must be restored and additionally created.

6. Taking into account the instructions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference to the effect that the shortest road to improving food supplies lies in expanding the potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes in every possible way by effecting radical economic reform, the central committee plenum makes it incumbent upon the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations and recommends to the republic Council of Ministers and the local soviets of people's deputies, and the agro-industrial committees and associations, to pursue a consistent course toward introduction of contract and leasehold forms for organizing labor and production and the creation of an extensive network of cooperatives both within the framework of existing farms and in relations with other enterprises and economic sectors.

It is essential to strive for a situation in which the new management forms combined with material incentive for final results become the basis for a sharp buildup in the volumes of food. Proper conditions must be created to develop initiative and give rural workers the sense of being their own masters, along with all who express a desire to help through their labor in resolving the food problem.

Decisive steps must be taken to democratize management in the agro-industrial complex and to create agro-industrial combines, firms and other formations. Work must be activated to bring financial health to enterprises and organizations. More attention must be paid to the social restructuring of the countryside and improving working and living conditions for the workers at kolkhozes and sovkhozes, regarding this as a fundamental question of present-day agrarian policy.

7. The plenum entrusts the central committee buro, party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations with the task of focusing all their activity on organizational and political support for the tasks put forward by the 19th All-Union Party Conference to improve food supplies for the population. Processes of perestroyka, radical economic reform and the democratization of public life must be accelerated. Political methods of leadership must be persistently mastered, improving the style and methods of work, and the initiative and organization of communists must be improved for a further upsurge in the economy and development of the social and spiritual spheres. On the basis of expanded democracy and glasnost, all links must be strengthened with personnel with initiative who think in the new way and are devoted

to the cause of perestroyka, giving due consideration to the opinion of the labor collectives.

The upcoming accountability and election reports in the party organizations must be subjected to in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the course of fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the efforts of communists must be concentrated on practical matters to solve the food problem; improvements in supplies to the population must become pivotal in the work in all party and public organizations and each labor collective.

### **Coverage of 24 Sep Kirghiz CP Central Committee Plenum**

#### **Information report**

*18300061a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 25 Sep 88 p 1*

[KirTAG report: "Information Report on a Plenum of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee took place on 24 September 1988.

The plenum heard a Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Buro report entitled "On the Course of Fulfillment of the Food Program and Measures To Improve Supplies of Foodstuffs for the Republic's Population in Light of the Demands of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum." The report was presented by Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee first secretary A.M. Masaliyev.

The following took part in the discussions: V.D. Linskiy, first secretary of the Dzhany-Dzholskiy party raykom; B. Asanaliyeva, brigade leader of a consolidated shepherd brigade at the sovkhoz imeni 50-letiya komsomola Kirgizii in Tonskiy rayon; R.S. Kulmatov, first secretary of the Osh party obkom; A. Kydyrmayev, first secretary of the Talasskiy party raykom; A.P. Khrestenkov, first secretary of the Issyk-Kul party obkom; R. Shcherbayeva, milkmaid at the "I-aya Maya" kolkhoz in Ala-Bukinskiy rayon; V.K. Kandakov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR People's Control Committee; S. Abdrakmanov, general director of the Kirghiz Grain Product and Procurement Production Association; T.S. Belousova, lathe operator at the Stankostroitelnyy zavod Production Association imeni V.I. Lenin; A. Kozhomkulov, chief of the Kirghiz Main Administration for Water Resources Construction; U.K. Chinaliyev, first secretary of the Frunze party gorkom; B. Kembayeva, milkmaid at the "Dzhergalan" sovkhoz in Ak-Suyskiy rayon; T.B. Chibayev, chairman of the Kirghiz Potrebsoyuz; B.M. Istomin, sector chief in the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department; K.A. Turganov, first secretary of the Sokulukskiy party raykom; V.A. Makarov, chairman of the "Zavety Iliche" kolkhoz in Moskovskiy rayon; U. Sydykov, first deputy chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; T.

Tabyldiyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Komsomol Central Committee.

The plenum passed a resolution on the question under discussion.

The plenum approved the "Proposals of the Kolkhozes, Sovkhozes, Processing Enterprises and Consumer Cooperatives on Increasing the Production and Sale to the State of Agricultural Output and Improving Its Processing, Storage and Marketing."

The plenum removed from control the resolution of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee 2nd Plenum of 24 April 1981 "On the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization in Fulfilling the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers Decree 'On Measures To Further Develop Sheep Farming in the Kirghiz SSR.'"

The plenum examined an organizational question.

The plenum removed from the Central Committee Zh. Akmatov, the former Kirghiz SSR minister of internal affairs, for serious shortcomings in work and lack of control leading to gross violations of socialist legality; and D.A. Tentiyeu, the former Kirghiz SSR minister of light industry, for having compromised himself. A. Nurkulov, former first secretary of the Chuyskiy party raykom was removed from the list of central committee candidates for abuse of his official position and dishonesty shown in connection with a traffic accident that he caused that had a fatal outcome.

This concluded the work of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee plenum.

#### **In the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Auditing Commission**

A meeting of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Auditing Commission took place on 24 September.

An organizational matter was considered. Former Kirghiz SSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education A. Tursunov was removed from the list of members of the auditing commission for serious shortcomings in his work and his personal behavior.

#### **Masaliev report**

*1830061a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 25 Sep 88 pp 2-3*

[Unattributed report: "Report of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Buro 'On the Course of Fulfillment of the Food Program and Measures To Improve Supplies of Foodstuffs for the Republic's Population in Light of the Demands of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum' Presented by Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary A.M. Masaliev"]

[Text] Comrades. At the 19th All-Union Party Conference the food problem was called the most painful point

in the life of society. The CPSU Central Committee July plenum that took place soon after the conference paid particular attention to this, emphasizing that its resolution requires urgent and fundamental steps and energetic and purposeful work by all party, soviet and economic organizations and public organizations.

Food supplies for the population, in particular meat and dairy products, are an acute problem in our republic. The central committee buro therefore brought this matter up for discussion at this plenum of the central committee, having first taken counsel with leaders and secretaries of the party committees at kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the party raykoms and rayispolkoms. Members of the central committee and party obkoms and raykoms, and leading workers from the Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers and specialists from the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the Gosplan made trips to the local level for this purpose.

On the basis of a comprehensive exchange of opinions, proposals have been drawn up to somewhat increase the production and procurement of agricultural output, mainly foodstuffs. The proposals have been generalized and circulated to the plenum participants so that they could familiarize themselves with them. It should be borne in mind that the five-year plan targets remain unchanged. It is a question, comrades, of above-plan sales of output. This is advantageous both to the farms and to the population. In taking this step the central committee buro was guided by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, which defined the targets for additional output of foodstuffs.

On the other hand, as a result of making extensive use of economic management methods and enhancing activity in the work of communists and workers in the agro-industrial complex, the prerequisites have been created for accelerated resolution of the Food Program. Thus, during the period 1986-1987 labor productivity in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes rose 9 percent compared with the mean indicators for the 11th Five-Year Plan, production profitability was improved, yields from the main kinds of agricultural crops and livestock productivity were improved, and the number of lagging farms and farms operating at a loss was reduced. Many rural party organizations and economic organs have started to be more active.

Over the past 2 years plans have been met for the sale to the state of all kinds of agricultural output earmarked as food, with the exception of fruit and grapes. Above-plan purchases have been as follows: grain, 81,500 tons; livestock and poultry, 36,000 tons; milk, 87,000 tons; vegetables 48,000 tons; potatoes, 18,000 tons; eggs, 102 million. There has been a shift in the per capita consumption of the main food products (see table)

Table 1

Product	1982—the year that the Food Program started	1985	1986	1987
Meat	38	40	42	43
Milk	173	182	217	236
Eggs	110	124	129	133
Vegetables and melons	81	98	92	84
Potatoes	60	65	66	63

There is also improvement this year. During the first 8 months of the year meat purchases were 18,000 tons above last year's level, milk 8,400 tons more, and eggs 21 million more. According to the calculations, procurements of vegetables, potatoes, melons and fruit will increase.

Our main task is to consolidate what has been achieved and on this basis make more efficient use of the available natural and economic potential and each year achieve steady growth in the production of foodstuffs in all farms and regions. Analysis shows that there are real opportunities for doing this. It is about these opportunities, comrades, that we must talk in detail today. We expect businesslike proposals from those present. We must also give due consideration to the fact that the republic's population is increasing at an annual rate of 100,000, and the number of urban dwellers is growing. More than 4.2 million people now live in the republic. These circumstances require amendments to the Food Program previously confirmed for the 13th Five-Year Plan and higher targets must be set.

I recall that the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum for the republic made provision in the 12th Five-Year Plan for an average annual output of meat (slaughtered weight) of 200,000 to 210,000 tons, 770,000 to 800,000 tons of milk, and 1.5 million to 1.6 million tons of grain. Labor productivity growth was set at a factor of 1.6 for vegetables and melons, 1.5 for fruit and berries, and 1.8 for grapes by 1990.

Today we can report that taking into account the results of the first 3 years of the five-year plan and the proposals from the farms and rayons, the results of the current five-year plan taken as an average annual figure will be at least 220,000 to 225,000 tons of meat, more than 1 million tons of milk and 1.8 million tons of grain.

Supplies for the population, however, are improving only slowly, and production rates for the main foodstuffs are not satisfying the growing demand.

Let me deal first with the most acute problem—that of meat and milk supplies. In terms of per capita consumption of these products the republic is lagging significantly behind the all-union average.

In the proposals offered for your consideration provision is made for an increased per capita meat consumption up to 52 kilograms by 1990, and up to 248 kilograms of milk. However, the standard ration is still 14 kilograms of meat and 70 kilograms of milk short. So a great deal of stepped-up work lies ahead.

What ways can be seen to resolve the problem?

First, in a radical improvement in work with agricultural cadres and in constantly enhancing the skills and qualifications and prestige and authority of the occupations of shepherd, milkmaid, stockman, breeder, vehicle operator, grain grower, vegetable grower, and other workers in the sector. And in creating for them everywhere good production and everyday conditions, introducing advanced forms for labor organization and wages, and making extensive use of collective, family and leasehold contracts. And in reinforcing the livestock farming and arable farming collectives with communists and Komso-mol members, and activating the primary party organizations at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. And in trying to achieve a situation in which everyone does more and increases output.

Second, in the future there must be a further deepening and expansion of intensive methods in livestock farming, improvement in the composition of the herds and livestock improvements and greater livestock productivity, an increase in the optimal sizes of the proportion of breeding females, and guaranteeing the birth of young animals and preservation of livestock, and also reductions in manual labor and raising the level of mechanization and automation in production processes.

Third, there must be a fundamental solution to the question of creating a reliable fodder base over the next two or three years, paying most attention to fodder quality and and nutrient balance. In accordance with the central committee and republic government resolution there must be a steady increase in productivity of pastureland through the active introduction of pasture rotation and other organizational measures.

Fourth, in the future the efficiency of the population's private subsidiary farms and those of enterprises, organizations and establishments must be developed and improved. It must be the rule that each rural yard has livestock and poultry and, on a mandatory basis, a milking cow. Soviet and economic organs are obliged to provide every possible kind of assistance and support for them, and special responsibility rests with the rural and settlement soviets of people's deputies.

And finally the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers and the party obkoms, raykoms and gorkoms and the oblast, city and rayon ispolkoms must approach in a self-critical way the level of their own leadership in the agro-industrial

complex, define new approaches to the accelerated development of agricultural production and boldly and creatively resolve questions of food supplies for the population.

Such are the main paths for advance. It is precisely on this plane, we might say, that the Kochkorskiy and Kantskiy rayon party organizations are acting as they implement various measures to seek out and use reserves, galvanize the activity of the primary party organizations and skillfully mobilize the workers to fulfill state plans. In 1987 the farms there produced 218 quintals of meat from every 100 hectares of pasture, and 103 to 105 lambs for every 100 ewes, with an average wool yield of up to 4 kilograms; they are insuring good maintenance of public livestock. The people in Kantskiy rayon are producing 132 kilograms of meat per head, and the average delivered weight of animals is more than 400 kilograms, while milk yield is 3,876 kilograms. The yield from grain crops in Kochkorskiy rayon is better than 45 quintals and agricultural profitability is 33 percent; in Kantskiy rayon the figure is 52 percent.

Kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Sokulukskiy, Kara-Suyskiy, Bazar-Korgonskiy, Ala-Bukinskiy and Aravanskiy rayons are achieving not bad indicators in the development of the agro-industrial complex.

The situation is quite different in Dzhungalskiy rayon (first secretary comrade A. Moldaliyev, chairman of the rayispolkom comrade A. Isabekov). During the first 2 year of the five-year plan the rayon failed to cope with plans for the production of livestock farming products and meat purchases. The main reasons for this were poor work with people and the large waste of livestock. In 1987 some 12 percent of sheep died, including one-fourth of those with lamb. This year there are only 82 lambs per 100 ewes. The farms' debts to Gosbank have reached more than R40 million.

Many kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Toguz-Torouskiy (comrades K.S. Kurmanaliyev and Zh. Alyshukurov), Keminskiy (comrades A. Dyushembiyev and L.I. Yevko), and Sovetskiy (comrades K. Dzhamankulov and K. Choybekov) rayons have much to do to catch up with the plans. A trend is being observed toward reduced meat production in the public sector in Issyk-Kul (comrades A.P. Khrestenkov and R.M. Beyshembayev) and Naryn (comrades I.S. Muratalin and E. Aliyev) oblasts. Moreover, the Naryn people have low growth rates in meat production. The party committees and soviet organs in these regions and all communists and specialists and workers in livestock farming must decisively correct the situation that has been created. They must achieve active work by the primary party organizations, guaranteeing their organizational role in fact. This very important sector is still not the focus of attention. As a result, a significant proportion of the primary party organizations and communists are working passively.

An example. The party organization at the "Shamsi" sovkhos in Chuyskiy rayon numbers 47 communists in its ranks, a not insignificant strength. But the party committee (secretary comrade K. Abdyldayev) uses it poorly and some party members are not fulfilling even the plans and have an irresponsible attitude toward the consumption of material resources. The party committee virtually fails to hear reports from them, interviews are merely pro forma, and no one asks for assignments from the leaders, specialists and workers. Farming is deteriorating and labor productivity is much lower than the average indicator for the rayon. The output-capital ratio and profitability are falling.

One reserve for additional meat is the efficient organization of labor and production in fattening livestock in special complexes. This has been shown from the experience of the collective at the Tyupskiy fattening complex, where the average daily weight increase for cattle is 700 grams while the average delivery weight is 430 to 450 kilograms. Up to 8.5 quintals of standard fodder units are used per quintal of weight gain, or 4.5 quintals less than in the neighboring farm. Prime cost per quintal of meat is R161, which is also much lower. Profitability is better than 34 percent. Meat production at the Chuyskiy state special farm is also highly efficient.

However, because of lack of proper attention from the economic, soviet and party organs in general the potential that has been created in the fattening complexes is being used unsatisfactorily. Over the past 2 years the average daily weight gains have fallen sharply in the state special farms in Osh Oblast—from 499 to 422 grams; the figures for Keminskiy rayon are 671 down 450, in Kalininskiy rayon down from 619 to 513, and in the state special farms in Talas Oblast they barely reach 400 grams. As a result, considerable meat resources are being lost.

It can hardly be considered normal when the state special farms in Kalininskiy rayon in Talas Oblast are only 70 percent full, while those in Ak-Talinskiy rayon are only half full. As you can see, capacities are also not being utilized. And major capital investments have been made in the organization of the complexes. The State Agro-Industrial Committee and oblast and rayon ispolkoms must conduct a special review of this question and define and implement in all state special farms the kind of measures that produce average daily weight gains of 700 to 800 grams.

Another reserve is the well-organized fattening of livestock. Unfortunately, this is not being handled as it should be. How else can the fact be explained that in Kalininskiy rayon 36 percent of sheep are emaciated and below average weight, with corresponding figures of 33 percent and 29 percent in Issyk-Kul Oblast and Osh Oblast?

Comrades, it is also necessary to approach the creation of hog-raising complexes more boldly. Their effectiveness has been proven. Take, for example, the Ivanovskiy hog-raising complex with capacities for handling 24,000 animals. Last year 2,800 tons of meat were produced there, or 120 kilograms per animal. Average daily weight gain was 470 grams and expenditure per kilogram of meat was less than 6 fodder units. The complex made \$1.6 million of profit. Profitability exceeds 45 percent.

The Council of Ministers is now considering the possible of building similar hog-raising complexes in the Chuyskiy and Talas valleys and in Osh Oblast by reallocating capital investments earmarked for the agro-industrial complex.

Together with this it is essential to create simplified hog-raising complexes along the lines of the "Pobeda" kolkhoz in Kalininskiy rayon, and to have hogs at farms so as to be able to sell young pigs to the population. This is the task: to bring the number of hogs up to 350,000 and through this increase pork production from 27,000 tons to 45,000 tons.

Considerable reserves are to be found in poultry farming. Over the past 2 years production of poultry meat has almost doubled. The Chuyskaya Broiler Battery alone will this year provide about 8,000 tons. Fodder consumption is lowest of all there—3.2 kilograms per unit. Some 96 of young birds grow to maturity. But this experience is not being disseminated. Moreover, only half the capacities of the Suzakskaya Broiler Battery are being used even though it has been in operation for 10 years. Unproductive waste of birds and overconsumption of fodder are great there. Product quality is poor. Personnel are not well trained. Last year losses totaled R3.5 million. And instead of bringing order, the leaders of Osh Oblast (comrades R.S. Kulmatov and N.M. Chepelev) are raising the question of building a new broiler battery.

It is undoubtedly essential to build up capacities, but existing capacities must also be fully utilized. Taking this into account, it is essential to accelerate the construction and reconstruction of poultry batteries envisaged in the 12th Five-Year Plan so as to bring poultry meat production up to 35,000 tons and to switch more quickly to highly productive hybrids and crosses.

Comrades, I would like to deal with the unjustifiably neglected sector of horse breeding. Almost no capital investments are being made for its development. Allocations for premises barely cover half the needs. In many regions and farms no more than 50 or 60 foals are born per 100 mares. In Issyk-Kul, Talas and Naryn oblasts and Moskovskiy and Panfilovskiy rayons the numbers of horses are even declining. This cannot be allowed. It is essential to build the simplest stables, organize good feeding and build up the production of koumiss [fermented mare's milk—ed]. Some 80 to 85 foals should be

produced from every 100 mares. The Council of Ministers, the State Agro-Industrial Committee and the State Committee on Prices must in the interests of the matter examine purchase prices for horse-breeding products and bring them into line with expenditures.

The development of livestock farming and its efficiency are linked directly to maintenance of the herds. During this five-year plan the proportion of sheep dying in the republic has been reduced to 2 percent. At the same time, at farms in Naryn Oblast and Keminskiy, Kirovskiy, Chuyskiy, Kalininskiy and Talasskiy rayons livestock losses are not being reduced. The main reasons are shortage of fodder, the low level of veterinary services, and poor preventive work. The State Agro-Industrial Committee must really come to grips with insuring good herd maintenance.

Comrades. Definite advances can be seen in milk production. Since the start of the five-year plan the milk yield per foraging cow has increased 367 kilograms. The dairy farms in Osh Oblast and regions in the Chuyskiy valley are making a contribution here. But the problem of supplying the population with dairy products remains acute. Therefore the task this year is to raise the milk yield to 3,200 kilograms, and by 1990 to 3,370 kilograms.

However, the potential of dairy farming is far from exhausted, and this is confirmed by the experience of leading farms. At the Kirghiz Dairy Testing Station [MIS], for example, by crossing the Alatau'skiy breed with Holsteins they are obtaining milk yields of 5,300 kilograms from 2,200 cows. The kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Alamedinskiy rayon has brought its milk yield up to 4,614 kilograms; the "Trud" kolkhoz in Kant'skiy rayon obtains yields of 4,346 kilograms, the seed farm [semkhoz] imeni 50-letiya SSSR in Sokuluk'skiy rayon 4,163 kilograms, and the "Oktyabr'skiy" grape sovkhoz [vinsovkhoz] in Suzak'skiy rayon 4,100 kilograms. Last year milk yields at 50 farms exceeded 3,500 kilograms, and 116 milkmaids obtained more than 5,000 kilograms from each cow, while 17 obtained more than 6,000 kilograms of milk.

A different picture is seen in Issyk-Kul Oblast, where in 1987 the milk yield was 2,702 kilograms. In 1985 the Issyk-Kul people were ahead of Osh Oblast for this indicator but now they are lagging significantly.

Overall for the republic, of 297 farms with cows, at 171 the milk yield is less than 3,000 kilograms, while in 40 it is less than 2,500 kilograms. In Osh Oblast from 2,000 to 2,500 kilograms are being obtained at 13 farms; in Naryn Oblast the figure is 12, in Talas Oblast 9 and in Issyk-Kul Oblast 8.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to the important question of the vanguard role of the communists in dairy farming, where the highest party representation is found—15 percent. But their influence

on the state of affairs in the sector is inadequate. Judge for yourselves. Of 7,400 milkmaids more than 1,400 are obtaining less than 2,500 kilograms per cow, and 619 are obtaining less than 2,000 kilograms. The primary party organizations and leading communist production workers are called upon to help them find the reasons for this lagging and to bring them up to scratch.

Economic, party and soviet organs must show more concern for creating normal working and everyday conditions for livestock workers, and for introducing new forms for the organization of wages. It can be done. Just visit the kolkhoz imeni XXI partsyvezda in Sokulukskiy rayon, where a Livestock House has been opened that includes a first-aid room, physiotherapy and dentistry offices, a room for relaxation and psychological rest, a dining hall, a store, a hairdresser, and a sauna. Concern for people is seen in production results. Here the average milk yield per cow exceeds 4,000 kilograms.

The experience gained at this kolkhoz deserves attention. They have herded the cows belonging to the kolkhoz farmers on the old farm and for a small charge of R43 a month they feed them with kolkhoz fodder. The kolkhoz farmers receive the milk that they need for their families and the rest is sold to the kolkhoz. The advantage is obvious: the kolkhoz farmers have an easy way of looking after their livestock and the kolkhoz receives additional milk.

Increased dairy production depends largely on herd reproduction. Every zootechnics expert knows this, but last year 50 farms obtained less than 70 calves per 100 cows, while in Toktogulskiy rayon the figure was 69, and in Naukatskiy and At-Bashinskiy rayons, 64. During the first half of the year, lagging in the birth of calves was permitted in Panfilovskiy, Keminskiy, Moskovskiy, Issyk-Atinskiy and Alamedinskiy rayons. Moreover, more than 16,000 heifers now more than 18 months old have not been impregnated. Do not these facts testify to direct irresponsibility and lack of discipline in the work of the corresponding farm specialists and leaders when they are to blame for a one-third shortfall in herd increases? And how can the position of the soviet organs and party committees be understood here?

As has already been said, the republic's population is growing and the numbers of urban dwellers are increasing and along with this their demand for meat and dairy products. In order to solve the problem, along with increasing livestock productivity it is essential to increase the numbers of livestock, otherwise nothing will be achieved. In the public sector the livestock counts (at the beginning of the year) were 739,000 for cattle, 8.6 million sheep, 209,000 horses, 283,000 hogs and 6.2 million head of poultry. Of course, the question of sharply increasing the total numbers of animals cannot be entertained because of the limited nature of pasture and fodder. It is mainly the numbers of breeding animals that must be increased: cows from 205,000 to 220,000 in 1990 and 250,000 in 1995; corresponding figures for

breeding ewes are from 4.6 million to 4.8 million and 5.2 million. This kind of structure, taking into account the increasing numbers of cattle in the population, will provide an opportunity for intensive rearing and raise the per capita consumption of livestock farming produce to the level of the standard ration.

Comrades. As has been said more than once, the development of livestock farming and increased production of meat, milk and wool is inconceivable without a solid fodder base. Thanks to the steps taken, in most farms fodder production has been made a separate sector and more than 3,500 specialized brigades and links have been formed, many of which are operating under collective contracts. For the first 2 years of the five-year plan an average of 2.6 million tons of fodder units were procured, which is 520,000 tons more than in the previous 2 years. Within the structure of the fodders the amounts of concentrated silage, grain haylage and root crops have increased.

For 1987 overall 17.3 quintals of fodder units were obtained per standard head of livestock—2.1 quintals more than in 1985. This year, according to the experts' assessments, at least as much will be stored in for the overwintering. For reliable operations in the years immediately ahead we should procure 21 to 22 quintals of fodder units.

To this end we must improve the structure of the area sown to fodder and actively introduce high-yield and high-protein crops and increase the areas sown to mixed crops, peas, beans and soybean. Sowing of perennial grasses must be used intensively; there is still no order here and a considerable part of them are sparse and yields remain low. We must expand reaped and intermediate crops more boldly; this will make it possible to obtain fodder right from early spring into late fall, and use hay more economically. It would be advisable to lay in grain haylage mainly using the so-called annual grasses. More complete use must be made of natural mountain pasture. The quality of prepared fodders must be constantly improved.

The republic scientific production association for fodders, pastureland and melioration work (comrade K. Tynaliyev) is still conducting tests on small plots. No return has yet been seen from the newly created "Korma" scientific-production system.

Soviet and party organizations must deal with all these questions constantly and in depth, and provide real assistance for farms in creating a firm fodder base for livestock farming.

Grain production occupies an important place in solving the food problem and grain yields have increased slightly; they topped 34 quintals last year. Each year the republic overfulfills its tasks for the sale of grain to the state.

But farmers face the task of bringing grain harvests to 2 million tons in the years immediately ahead, and to 2.5 million tons in the long term, mainly through corn, whose yields have reached 70 quintals. Uzgenskiy, Alamedinskiy, Issyk-Atinskiy and Kantskiy rayons are harvesting 75 to 90 quintals, and the leading links of comrades Dzh. Moydunov at the "Yassy" sovkhoz, A. Askarov at the "Shoro-Bashat" sovkhoz, S. Ormonbayev at the "Kaynar" sovkhoz, all in Uzgenskiy rayon, and of O. Namatov from the "Beshkent" sovkhoz in Lyalyakskiy rayon, and Ch. Abdyldayev from the "Belogorskiy" sovkhoz in Sokulukskiy rayon are obtaining 135 to 150 quintals. It is precisely on these frontiers that rayons and farms and corn-raising brigades and links must orient themselves.

The scientists, first and foremost the farming scientific-production associations, must make a major contribution in this matter. The initiative of the scientists and specialists in setting up the "Kukuruza" scientific-production system deserves attention. In 1989 the plant breeder comrade K. Sedoyev will also introduce the "oktyabrskiy" hybrid into production; this has the potential to provide 130 to 140 quintals per hectare. With the introduction of high-yield varieties a radical change should take place in the growing of this valuable crop.

Simultaneously it is necessary to expand sown areas to 90,000 to 100,000 hectares, bringing the production of corn for grain to 800,000 and then 1 million tons. Here, the entire area sown to this crop should be worked intensively. This must be discussed because the leaders and specialists at many farms are underestimating intensive technologies. At present only 30 percent of areas sown to grain crops are cultivated using new methods, and in some regions even the attitude toward fallow land is wrong.

Permit me to dwell on the production of important food products such as vegetables, potatoes, fruit and grapes. The acute situation in supplies of these products for the population is not improving, particularly in the winter months.

On the one hand, output volumes are inadequate, while on the other, losses during harvesting, transport and storage remain significant. And the range and choice do not meet the growing demand. At many farms yields are being increased only slowly, intensive technologies are not being used, manual labor dominates during cultivation, and purchase prices for some kinds of vegetables are low, which also has an adverse effect on the state of affairs. All these problems require immediate solutions.

Annual demand for vegetables and melons is 670,000 tons while the republic produces about 580,000 tons, of which 130,000 tons go into the all-union stocks. Thus, we are 220,000 tons short of the standard ration. We must resolve this difficult task in the near future.

In order to improve supplies of vegetables for the population during the winter and spring period it is essential to develop hotframe and hothouse facilities, first and foremost in the neighborhood of Frunze and other cities. Little more than 1 kilogram per inhabitant of vegetables is being produced against 7.5 kilograms according to the standard. It would be correct to have small hothouses at kolkhozes and sovkhozes, industrial enterprises, and construction and transport organizations.

Now a few words about potatoes. In terms of consumption we are close to the standard. We ourselves produce about 300,000 tons and annually import up to 30,000 tons from the RSFSR and Belorussia. There are opportunities for fully providing our requirements ourselves.

In the public sector about 11,000 hectares are sown to potatoes. The average yield is 130 to 150 quintals. If these figures can be raised to 200 then the problem is solved. This is a stepped-up but realistic target. What is primarily needed are high-yield varieties. We must actively introduce intensive technologies and be bolder in switching the sector to leasehold contracts. In this connection support should be given to the appeal from potato growers published recently in the press, in which they called for the rejection of the imported potato. This applies in particular to Osh, Naryn and Talas oblasts, which annually import up to 40,000 tons.

The specialized farms in Issyk-Kul Oblast and Keminskiy rayon are called upon to undertake a special mission. There they can really organize production of the best virus-free varieties and supply kolkhozes and sovkhozes with elite seed stock. In every region several farms must specialize in growing seed potatoes.

A complex situation has taken shape in horticulture and viticulture. The scales of reconstruction and the organization of new orchards and viticulturalists' specialization in table and currant varieties are quite inadequate. Today about 60 percent of orchards require renewal and yields do not exceed 32 percent, while the figure for grape growers is 66 percent. Plans for purchases of fruit and grapes are not being met.

Serious work must be done to correct the situation. In Osh Oblast alone, over the next two or three years it is planned to plant 330 hectares of new orchards and more than 1,000 vineyards. The opening up of the Arkinskiy tract in Lyalyakskiy rayon must be accelerated, the plantations at the "Dzhida" sovkhoz must be expanded, and the Burgandinskiy tract in Frunzenskiy rayon must offer some return.

Scientists and specialists have concluded that in the Chuyskiy valley it is possible to plant an additional 1,400 hectares to orchards and vineyards. It is necessary to expand the orchards in Issyk-Kul Oblast and the Talas valley. The leaders of soviet and economic organs must

devise a clear-cut program in each rayon for the development of fruit growing and for improving its efficiency, and switch orchards and vineyards to leasehold and collective contracts.

The 18th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress set the task of making more complete use of the wealth of the walnut forests in Arslanbob. Today it must be stated that this is being resolved unsatisfactorily. Over the past 2 years little more than 2,000 tons of walnuts and 1,800 tons of wild nuts and berries have been harvested.

It is high time for the forestry cooperative production association (comrade T.S. Musuraliyev) to change its attitude toward this wealth and to increase the production of purees made from wild apples, jams from nuts, and preserves from alycha and wild barberries, and to master the technology for manufacturing oblepikha oil. This year, a moderate harvest is expected from the forest. The forestry association and the leaders of the appropriate rayons must do everything possible to gather as many nuts and apples and other fruits and berries as possible.

One major reserve for building up the production of food is private subsidiary farms belonging to citizens. Some 40 percent of vegetables, 72 percent of fruit, 55 percent of potatoes and a considerable amount of meat and milk are produced there. Results would be more impressive if the soviet, economic and party organs dealt more specifically with the questions that arise. Difficulties are still being encountered in acquiring young cattle and poultry and in marketing produce. Little pasture or fodder is being allocated to the population. For these and other reasons one private yard in five has no livestock, and one in three has no cattle or sheep, while one-half do not have a cow. In Chuyskiy and Kantskiy rayons 65 percent of yards have no cows; in Moskovskiy and Sokulukskiy rayons the figure is 70 percent, and in Alamedinskiy rayon, 84 percent. Although about 12,000 families want to have cattle, because of the poor herd reproduction the farms are unable to satisfy consumer demand.

In recent years collective horticulture and truck farming have been extensively developed, and more than 60,000 people are now engaged in this. Workers and employees are now allocated 2,000 hectares for this, but by the year 2000 any urban family wanting to will be able to have its own garden plot.

At the same time some soviet organs are showing a serious lack of understanding in this matter. Thus, in Osh Oblast some 524 hectares of the land envisaged in the central committee and council of ministers resolution for collective orchards and truck farms have not yet been allocated; in Sokulukskiy rayon (comrade V.M. Kirkin) the figure is 793 hectares, in Issyk-Atinskiy rayon (comrade A. Kalybayev) 342 hectares, in Kantskiy rayon (comrade A.Zh. Tukbashev) 307 hectares, and in Moskovskiy rayon (comrade V.P. Serdyukov) 273 hectares.

There are many shortcomings and also formalism in the development of subsidiary farms at enterprises and organizations. Take land use. Some 77,000 hectares, including 18,000 of pastureland, have been allocated for private subsidiary farms, but, mark you, most of them are obtaining extremely poor harvests. In 1987, for example, the Sulyukta Mining Administration harvested 2 quintals of grain per hectare while the Frunze railroad section and the Frunze Knitted Goods Product Association each gathered 6 or 7 quintals.

Given this kind of farming it is difficult to talk about meat, milk and other produce that would go for the enterprise workers' table. Even large collectives like the "Stankostroitelnyy zavod" Product Association imeni V.I. Lenin (general director comrade M.I. Paryshkura) and the Agricultural Machine Building Plant imeni M.V. Frunze (director comrade A.A. Yelebesov) are producing less than two kilograms of meat; meanwhile the Kalininskaya Hydrogeological Reconnaissance Group and the Karabiyskaya Geological Survey Group are producing 55 and 57 kilograms respectively.

Insufficient use is being made of the opportunities available to the Kirghiz Potrebsoyuz in building up food stocks. Lately it has even started to reduce procurements of particular kinds of products. Thus, last year targets for purchases of potatoes at prices agreed with the public were met only 81 percent, while the figures for vegetables and fruit were 69 percent and 90 percent respectively. Many foodstuffs produced by enterprises in the system do not meet the requirements of the state standards and there are frequent complaints about the quality of sausage. Comments are being made about it but things are improving only extremely slowly.

The consumer societies (comrade T.B. Chilebayev) are called upon to consider not only their own profits but also to think in terms of the state. They must organize reception points in every village and purchase everything on site. In the rayons it is expedient to have their own storage facilities with refrigeration plant, along with small processing shops and enterprises.

Comrades. Questions of processing and storage are of special importance in increasing product and reducing losses. In the past years R145 million, or 1.5 times more than for the whole 11th Five-Year Plan, have been invested in the construction and reconstruction of processing enterprises. Additional capacities have been created. In two-and-a-half years above-target foodstuffs worth R64 million have been produced, the output of mayonnaise and nonalcoholic beverages has been doubled, and production of canned meat and fruit products has increased 20 percent.

But the position remains difficult. Many processing enterprises are old and are in a decrepit state. One-third of machines and equipment in the fruit and vegetables, food, meat and dairy and canning industries are obsolete and obsolescent, there is a predominance of manual

labor, and technological discipline is being violated. As a result, much output is lost during processing and storage of raw materials and the public's complaints about the quality of meat and bakery products and canned fruits and vegetables continue. During the course of a single inspection up to 80 percent of poultry carcasses, more than 40 percent of meat and meat semifinished products, and 30 percent of canned fruit and vegetables were defective and the quality downgraded.

The CPSU Central Committee has set the task of basically reequipping the food and processing industries over the next two or three years on a modern scientific and technical basis. The machine-building plants must be fully involved in this. The industrial enterprises and organizations of the State Agro-Industrial Committee (comrades R.K. Bekker and N.V. Yakovlev) must themselves act more energetically. They are still reluctant to manufacture assemblies, parts and nonstandard equipment and specialized lines for the processing enterprises.

Gosplan (comrade P.I. Manchenko) and the State Agro-Industrial Committee (comrade U. Sydykov) must carry out a major review of the principles used in the location of new canning and other enterprises, and switch boldly to the development of small interfarm plants and lines that can process vegetables, fruit and other products on site.

Questions connected with the storage of meat and dairy products, fruit and vegetables and potatoes are being resolved slowly. Available refrigeration and storage facilities meet only 50 percent to 75 percent of the requirement. It is necessary to increase the rates of work and commission all planned capacities on time, and also combine the efforts of urban enterprises and on a cooperative basis build the necessary numbers of storage facilities. This applies first and foremost to Frunze city.

Comrades. The accelerated development of agriculture, radical restructuring in the countryside, and an upsurge in all sectors of the agro-industrial complex depend on the level of work in the rural construction organizations. And here there are many unresolved questions and their material technical base is weak. There are constant shortages of reinforced concrete, brick, and other materials. At the same time, leaders of the Glavkirgizagropromstroy Association, the Osh oblispolkom and the Uzgenskiy rayispolkom are to blame for the fact that a brick factory in Mirza-Aki village has been under construction for 6 years. There have been delays in the construction of a combine of production enterprises in Talas city, a brick factory in Kochkor-Ata and a keramzit gravel pit in Belovodskoye village.

Difficult tasks confront the construction workers in developing the social infrastructure for the countryside. In many populated points there are still no kindergartens, standard schools, everyday enterprises, houses of culture, stores, asphalted streets, or centralized water supplies. Housing construction is also lagging. Poor

solutions are being found to questions of balance for material-technical resources for construction projects, and compiling and safeguarding applications for them are done at a low level.

Perestroyka in the work of rural construction workers is slow. Half of the construction organizations are failing to cope with their tasks and most are operating at a loss. Here there are many instances of violations of labor and production discipline, and labor productivity is declining. As a rule, the equipment available (and there are shortages of this) is being operated only on a one-shift basis. In some cases the quality of projects built is unable to stand up to any kind of criticism.

Of course, comrades, there are also good construction collectives, but very few. Let me say candidly that much of the blame for this unsatisfactory situation in rural construction must rest with the State Agro-Industrial Committee (comrade P.M. Khodos) and the oblast and rayon ispolkoms, which have reconciled themselves to the shortcomings and are taking no major steps. The party central committee and party obkoms and raykoms deserve serious reproach. In the central committee this section falls within the range of duties of comrades D.B. Amanbayev and Zh. Turdubayev, but they are not specifically dealing with it, are failing to help the construction workers, and very rarely visit projects.

Responsibility for the delays in construction projects also rests with the USSR State Committee for Construction (comrades Ya.Ye. Fisher and S. Ablesov), who are failing to draw conclusions from party and government instructions in this matter and are systematically failing to assimilate capital investments. At the Ak-Suyskiy corn-processing combine, for example, the annual plan for construction and assembly work was fulfilled only 48 percent; the situation is the same at the Przhevalsk meat combine and the Frunze dairy combine.

Similar shortcomings are also inherent in water resources construction. The large expenditures in amelioration work are not providing the proper return. More than 100,000 hectares of land are now in a bad condition in terms of reclamation. In Batkenskii rayon alone almost one-third of irrigated pastureland has been subject to secondary salinization. Significant areas of salinized land are to be found in Kalininskiy, Moskovskiy and Sokulukskiy rayons.

In all, we have about 1 million hectares of arable land and can essentially expand no further. Accordingly, proper and complete use of every square meter of land acquires enormous importance.

In the system of our main contract organization—Glavkirgizvodstroy (comrade A. Kozhomkulov)—funding is being overextended on many projects, and the volume of incompleted construction is great. At the beginning of the year it amounted to R114 million, which is 26 percent above the normativ. Let me cite one example.

Four years ago the "Ak-Suu" pumping station was brought on line to irrigate land at the "Tylek" sovkhos in Moskovskiy rayon, at a cost of more than R1 million, but it is not in operation because the land has not been made ready. And this is not worrying the leaders in the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources (comrade T. Sulaymanov) or those in the rayon.

Internal reserves in irrigated farming are also being poorly used. On most of the area, irrigation is done manually, too much irrigation water is being used, there is water erosion, and in some places the ground water level is rising. Only 27 percent of the 29,000 kilometers of irrigation canals has artificial covers. As a result, much irrigated land is not providing any noticeable increase in the harvest.

The fact is that literally until very recently planning and construction of water resources projects on old irrigated land were not being done comprehensively. Planning was being done for one tract while construction for drainage was taking place on another, and on yet a another, canal reconstruction was under way. As a result more than 157,000 hectares, or 15 percent of existing irrigated land, today requires comprehensive reconstruction. It must be resolved through the reallocation of capital investments planned for water resources construction.

Comrades. No matter what question we raise today, no matter from what side we approach the economics of it, everything depends on the individual person and on the need for radical improvement in production relations. At the present stage, contracts and leaseholds are the most efficient forms for the organization of labor.

According to State Agro-Industrial Committee figures, 90 percent of internal farm subdivisions are operating under various forms of contract, and they are working most arable land and handling three-fourths of cattle and sheep. Wherever they have switched to a new form of work there is firm discipline and great inducement to initiative and creativity. Let me cite some examples of this.

In 1987 the Tynyanov family from the kolkhoz imeni Panfilov in Panfilovskiy rayon contracted to rear 30 bull calves, which were kept in a shed and after 14 months had reached an average delivery weight of 393 kilograms and provided the kolkhoz with an additional 103 quintals. Prime cost per quintal of meat was R120 against R184 for the farm overall. The family brought the kolkhoz R19,000 of net profit and made more than R6,000 for itself.

At the "Chaldovar" sovkhos in the same rayon V. Guryanov's team of 7 people assumed a leasehold of 200 heifers. During the first half of the year the average milk yield per cow was 1,630 kilograms; the sovkhos indicators rose 41 percent and production prime cost declined sharply.

The Belanov family from the "Zavety Ilich" kolkhoz in Kantskiy rayon maintains the kolkhoz duck farm under a leasehold agreement. Last year it provided the kolkhoz with 105 tons of meat. Sh. Gappel's leasehold team from the kolkhoz imeni Kirov in the same rayon provided 220 tons of duck meat. Gross output worth R100,000 was produced for each worker, or tens times more than at regular duck farms.

A 12-man cattle-fattening brigade led by comrade O. Makhayev from the kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Alamedinskii rayon works on a lease basis. It handles more than 2,500 head of cattle. In 1986 the average delivery weight of the animals was 463 kilograms, while in 1987 this figure was 475 kilograms. Prime cost per quintal of weight increase was R104 against a plan of R155.

The brigade saved more than R41,000 of material and financial assets against planned expenditures. Net profit topped R860,000 and labor productivity per worker reached R109,000 in 1987.

At the kolkhoz imeni Put k kommunizmu in Sokulukskiy rayon a family brigade made up of six people is working on intensive fattening of lambs under a lease arrangement; comrade S. Zhumabayev is the brigade leader. The brigade fattens 4,500 animals. It carries out all work associated with maintaining, caring for and carrying out veterinary measures itself. In the past 2 years, after fattening it has sold the kolkhoz 2,250 quintals of meat worth R597,000. Some 4.3 kilograms of wool are sheared from each sheep and the average delivery weight of the animals is 50 kilograms. Labor productivity per worker has reached R73,300 against R8,000 for the kolkhoz.

The effectiveness of the leasehold contract can also be seen in the following example. The Kulov family from the same kolkhoz has this year assumed responsibility for growing strawberries on an area of 1.4 hectares. Some 89 quintals of strawberries were picked per hectare and the kolkhoz obtained R38,000 of profit. I report for your information that the yield from this crop in the republic is 3.7 quintals per hectare. Compare 89 with 3.7. This is what incentive means.

These examples testify that with a creative and conscientious approach to the matter and the correct combination of personal and societal interests, people can perform miracles, display their talent and opportunities and hasten the resolution of problems associated with supplying meat for the population.

In this connection I would like to draw your attention to the following question.

In the new forms for the organization of labor in agriculture, people's material interest is paramount, not only in terms of money but also in the output that they produce in kind.

Unfortunately, many kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders approach this with reluctance.

The leadership at the kolkhoz imeni Put k kommunizmu did not pay that same brigade of comrade Zhumabayev in kind, even though according to the expert calculations, over a year it would be worth 16 to 20 sheep. This is a drop in the bucket. This kind of approach lowers people's interest and holds back output growth.

We see that there is a great deal of lack of understanding and formalism in the introduction of the contract, particularly in Sovetskiy, Issyk-Kul, Dzhumgalskiy, Toguz-Torouskiy, At-Bashinskiy, Toktogulski, Manasskiy and Keminskiy rayons. All our personnel must be retrained on the march, as they say. And those who slow things down must yield up their places to people who are receptive to what is progressive and advanced.

Party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations must give unremitting attention to the development and expansion of advanced forms for the organization of labor and support new initiatives in a timely fashion.

We must switch to the new forms of work on a broad front and in all directions. This is dictated by the fact that the entire agro-industrial system is in a serious financial position. Only about half of the sovkhozes and kolkhozes are now carrying on their production activity using their own funding.

Some 101 kolkhozes and 181 state farms, or 54 percent of the total, are now operating under conditions of self-financing. Some 29 of our farms are operating at a loss, and 128 have low profitability.

Strict order in accounting for and consuming material values has not been introduced everywhere, and barriers have not been erected against bad management, waste, theft and account padding. Last year farms wrote off about 8,000 tons of potatoes and 4,000 tons of vegetables that were fed to cattle. Losses from deficits, theft and spoilage of material values during the first half of this year exceeded R2.6 million.

In his report at the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, when talking about ways to improve food supplies, comrade M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "our greatest reserve is the struggle against losses and for proper safekeeping and high quality processing of the harvest and of farm produce." The republic people's control organs are becoming increasingly involved in this work but, comrade V.K. Kandakov, the situation requires that you act more energetically and do not make compromises with a single violation, and deal more strictly with those responsible for the safekeeping of foodstuffs. The reasons for mismanagement must be revealed and eliminated.

This year the agro-industrial complex in Osh Oblast is operating under conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing. The first steps have been taken in mastering the new work methods and organizing contract collectives in vegetable growing, cotton growing, tobacco growing and corn growing. However, the effect of the economic levers is still not producing the desired results. Cost accounting has not become the norm in production relations for many collectives. No noticeable shifts have occurred in normalizing the financial status of the farms.

Taking into account the first lessons of the people in Osh we must make ready the entire agro-industrial system for the transfer to the new management conditions. Personnel training must be organized and coordination and balance must be insured in plan targets and economic normatives and limits.

At the rayon level it is obviously advisable to abandon the rayon agro-industrial associations, which have not given a good account of themselves. There must be a switch to progressive structural formations such as cooperatives, agricultural combines and associations, and agricultural firms. It is also necessary to set up councils for rayon agro-industrial associations, elected by democratic means. New organs are now functioning in the republic in Alamedinskiy and Uzgenskiy rayons and this issue is being resolved for Sokulukski rayon.

The central committee and council of ministers must think seriously about how to improve the activity of the central apparatus of the State Agro-Industrial Committee. The paper shuffling and speechifying continue but many questions and urgent economic needs are being resolved unsatisfactorily. The party organization in the apparatus and its secretary, comrade Kalachev, are not exerting any major influence on the communists and are reconciling themselves to shortcomings and failing to provide any principled assessment of those guilty of poor work in any particular sector.

Comrades. Success in the agro-industrial complex system, as in other sectors of the economy, depends on personnel and the correct position of party committees in their selection, placement and indoctrination. Within the republic steps are being taken to strengthen lagging sectors with trained personnel. Democratic forms for the selection and promotion of farm leaders are being expanded. In the last year-and-a-half 57 kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhoz directors and 14 managers for enterprises in the processing industry have been elected on the basis of a competitive system, and this year 239 middle managers will be chosen in the same way.

Today it must also be said that many specialists and leading workers in the agro-industrial complex themselves have a poor mastery of the new management methods and are providing inadequate training for kolkhoz and sovkhoz personnel. Work in training reserves is poor, and even the posts of rayon agro-industrial association chairmen remain vacant for months.

Special responsibility rests with the rural party raykoms in pursuing cadre policy in the countryside and improving food supplies for the population. Advances have been made in their activity. For example, the Tonskiy party raykom (first secretary comrade B. Dzhaparov) has abandoned redundant meetings and sessions and has started to deal with people more actively and enhance the role and responsibility of the primary party organizations. Here, much work is being done with the reserve of personnel, who are taught and undergo periods of probation. A number of young workers have recently been taken from the reserve and promoted to various leading posts. A fine detachment of management personnel has been formed. Many chief specialists and managers are being sent to strengthen things in other rayons.

Here they are dealing seriously with questions concerning improvements in people's social and everyday conditions. Field camps have been in all the field brigades. Every shepherd's family has a house with a bath and is supplied in good time with fuel, gas and electric power. Clubs and consumer services are available in all the settlements and improvements are being made in the material-technical base for the general education schools and vocational and technical schools. This is all leading to high final results. In two-and-half years the rayon has overfulfilled the plan for the sale of all kinds of agricultural produce. Labor productivity is growing and kolkhoz and sovkhoz profitability is improving.

The Moskovskiy, Sokulukskiy, Issyk-Atinskiy, Talasskiy, Lyalyakskiy and other party raykoms are striving to master political methods of leadership and the creative style of work.

Unfortunately, they are not all succeeding. We have already talked previously about shortcomings in Toguz-Torouskiy rayon. The main reason for them is the unsuitable work style of the party raykom itself and the neglect of cadre policy. How can we talk about cadre selection and indoctrination if some of the former leaders and chief specialists at farms fired for various delinquencies are after some time again promoted to leading posts? With this kind of unscrupulous approach it is difficult to improve the rayon's economy. The party raykom must change its forms and methods of work, reduce the number of unnecessary meetings and gatherings, and strengthen control over communists for their assignments. Fewer references should be made to objective reasons and difficulties, although they do exist, and internal reserves must be sought out and their own opportunities used. Of course, the rayon needs assistance in solving some questions, in particular questions of the social infrastructure.

Today's plenum is rightly making inquiries about the shortcomings in personnel work in the Toktogulskiy party raykom (comrade S. Bularkiyev) and its bureau. In 2 years public property worth R685,000 has been stolen in that rayon, 11 people have received party censures, and

55 have been prosecuted. The party raykom and rayispolkom must deal with matters more seriously and investigate specifically the reasons for negative facts and fight to prevent them.

In work to improve the moral and psychological climate in the collectives the raykom relies little on the primary party organizations. The vanguard role of the communists has been depreciated and many of them are failing to cope with their tasks. Half of the farms in the rayon are operating at a loss or with low profitability. The central committee and council of ministers must investigate the lagging rayons and provide assistance in eliminating the shortcomings.

The Food Program can be successfully implemented only by improving work with cadres. In this matter a great deal must be done. First and foremost it is essential to strengthen the middle wing of the agro-industrial complex with diplomaed specialists; more than 6,000 practical people without credentials are now working there.

The system for retraining and improving the skills of leaders and specialists must be re-examined. Instead of 5 years, this must be reckoned to last 15. The shameful practice of having good workers go for years without training still continues. These questions must be examined in the appropriate organs and measures implemented.

It is essential to think seriously about the competence and professional training of leading cadres in the rayon wing, especially the soviet organs, for they must now themselves make decisions on all economic matters. Thus, whereas 75 percent of the first secretaries in the rural party raykoms have a higher agricultural education and 62.5 percent party and political training, among the chairmen of the rayispolkoms the level of training is much lower.

The accountability-and-election meetings are now going on in the party organizations. You have seen how the present campaign is different from all previous campaigns. It is now already clear that the party organizations are undergoing a crucial test and carrying out a strict self-appraisal. This obliges communists to speak candidly about how each of them is working in his own place, and about his personal contribution to perestroika.

About 600,000 people, including 50,000 communists, are working in the agrarian sector. This is a large force. It is precisely they, the communists, who are called upon to lead the struggle for the successful resolution of the food problem.

I think that the discussion of ways to improve food supplies for the population will continue at the party meetings, with due consideration being given to the

documents adopted at today's plenum. Each party organization is called upon to define its own place in finding a solution to this problem, and to reveal farm reserves for increasing the output of meat, milk, vegetables, fruit and other products, and become actively involved in work to realize them.

All our ideological work must be seriously restructured. Today it is not enough to present lectures at field camps and on remote farms. Verbal and printed statements must not simply state facts; they must reveal reserves for acceleration and talk about leading experience, intensive technologies, the introduction of collective, family and leasehold contracts and real cost accounting in a well-argued fashion. Young people must be taught a love of the land and of agricultural labor.

The party obkoms and raykoms must help the secretaries of the primary party organizations, especially those elected for the first time, to master political methods of leadership. The mass media should be recruited widely for this work.

It is noteworthy that leaders and specialists from agro-industrial associations and farms and enterprises have started to appear more often in the press and on television and radio. In the days when preparations were being made for the plenum farm managers comrades Kh. Khubiyev, O. Kutmanov and A.K. Kamalov and scientists comrades Ch.B. Alamanova, V.K. Rabochev and K. Chalbayer, along with many specialists, brigade leaders and leaders of leasehold collectives appeared on the pages of the newspapers SOVETNIK KYRGYZSTAN and SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA with their thoughts on ways to resolve the Food Program, and with proposals on the broad introduction of collective and leasehold contracts in production, and intensive technologies.

The mass media workers are making their own contribution to development of the agro-industrial complex. Their published pieces are showing new management forms, urgent problems in agrarian policy, and the experience of production leaders. When discussing the food question, today it is impossible not to talk about the many years of fruitful work by the former correspondent of the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN in our republic, comrade I.M. Masaulov, who sharply and objectively raised the problems of the countryside and took part in the dissemination of leading experience. He is now enjoying a well-earned rest. Among press workers there are many active people who are helping us to solve the tasks of socioeconomic development and improving indoctrination for the workers.

A few words about the present. In order to complete this year successfully it is essential everywhere to intensify the rate of harvest work and be concerned to create a reliable base for the future harvest by accelerating the fall plowing and the sowing of winter crops, and by making good preparations for the overwintering. Little time remains. And much remains to be done in the fields and

farms. First and foremost it is essential to harvest fruit and vegetables, potatoes, corn for grain and tobacco without loss. A good cotton crop has been grown. The central committee buro is convinced that the cotton growers will keep their word with honor and sell the state at least 80,000 tons of raw cotton.

The situation with grain production is causing some concern. Compared with last year the republic will not harvest as much cereal crops. There is a real possibility that they can be augmented with corn. But in some rayons in the Chuyskiy valley the harvesting of corn for grain is proceeding only slowly and with losses.

It is important to create the necessary reserve of fodders. Although the preparation of forage is almost complete, many rayons are completely unable to match last years' rates of accumulation of coarse and succulent fodders. Osh Oblast and Sokulukskiy, Moskovskiy, Keminskiy and Kalininskiy rayons are lagging.

Not all food provisions and fuel have yet been taken to remote pasture. In some places repairs are incomplete at fodder shops. Housing and livestock premises are being repaired only slowly.

Steps must be taken. The CPSU Central Committee has drawn our attention to this. The party obkoms and raykoms, the oblast and rayon ispolkoms, the party organizations of the agro-industrial complex and the council of ministers and central committee must become involved in eliminating the shortcomings. It is precisely on this day-to-day work that improvements in supplies of food for the population ultimately depend.

In implementation of the Food Program the central committee buro is counting on the active involvement of the trade unions and Komsomol. They must deal meaningfully with questions of creating for the workers the necessary production and everyday conditions, and of transferring brigades and shops to progressive work forms, and exercising patronage over the decisive sectors of production. Workers and young people must be helped to develop independence and a business streak, especially in the social restructuring of the countryside, and in effecting an upsurge in the economies of kolchozes and sovkhoses. Communists comrades E. Abakirov and T. Tabyldiyev must raise the level of work in the primary party organizations and assume personal responsibility for each apparatus worker for his assignment.

Such, comrades, are the tasks in improving food supplies for the population. In this report we have tried to define ways in which they can be realized. Their implementation depends directly on the activity of the central committee buro and secretariat and the republic council of ministers. It must be acknowledged that in solving major questions, members of the central committee secretariat, and myself as first secretary of the central

committee, are still not relying enough on the composition of the central committee and show little exactingness toward the party apparatus and toward cadres at the local level. We also have our shortcomings and I think that those speaking at the plenum will talk about them.

In connection with the reorganization in the structure of the central committee apparatus, we must consider the responsibility of the central committee and its buro for the position in socioeconomic development in the republic from the positions of the high demands of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July plenum.

Providing the population with food is today the most advanced line, where party slogans are refracted into practical deeds. It is from these deeds that it will be necessary to judge the real achievements of perestroyka. This, comrades, is a test of the maturity of the republic party organization. This is the essence of the political leadership in the process of raising the living standard of the working masses. This is the point where the efforts of each primary party organizations, each raykom and obkom, the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and all communists must be applied.

### **Elections Held for TaSSR's New Khatlon Party Obkom**

*18300127 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 14 Oct 88 p 2*

[TadzhikTA report: "The Plenum Took Place"]

[Text]—Kuybyshevsk—The party raykom plenum took place here, to examine organizational questions.

The plenum relieved I. Kh. Khalimov from his duties as first secretary of the party raykom in connection with the Khatlon party obkom first secretary elections.

Participants of the plenum examined the question of the candidacy of the new raykom first secretary and two candidates were considered. As a result the members of the rayon committee decided to include in the voting papers for secret ballot the candidacy of T. Abdudzhaborov, who worked as department chief in the Tajik CP CC. By secret ballot the majority vote went to the first secretary of the Kuybyshev party raykom.

Tajik CP CC second secretary P. K. Luchinskiy took part in the work of the plenum, as well as first secretary of the Khatlon party obkom I. Kh. Khalimov.

### **Officials, Clergymen, Journalists Discuss Need for Religious Tolerance**

18120013 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 44 6-13 Nov 88 p 8

[Roundtable discussion on religious tolerance]

[Text] People of the most diverse views and persuasions, believers and atheists, public figures joined in a roundtable discussion at the "MN" offices. They were: Sergei Averintsev, D. Sc. (Philology), Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Archpriest Nikolai Vedernikov, Father Superior of the Church of John the Baptist in Moscow; Sergei Rogov, D. Sc. (History); Pastor Mikhail Kulakov, Chairman of the Council of the Seventh-Day Adventists' Churches in the Russian Federation; writer Yuri Davydov; Monsignor Janis Pujats, head of the Catholic parishes of Riga; Pastor Gennady Sergeyenko of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian Baptists; Alexei Mikheyev of the Moscow Krishna's Consciousness community; journalist Alexander Nezhny; and Father Mark Smirnov.

The topic of discussion was tolerance as a key condition for understanding among people, a must in mediating conflicts and in society's democratization.

**Father Mark Smirnov:** The question should be not only tolerance and relations between different religions and creeds, but tolerance between people of different world views, different nations and nationalities.

We have recently witnessed acute interethnic and ethno-confessional conflicts—in Kazakhstan, Nagorny Karabakh, Sumgait. Often intolerance is displayed in relation to people of a different nationality, people of different convictions, religious and political views. But without mutual understanding, without a calm and respectful attitude towards one another, which implies tolerance, it is difficult to effect all the reforms which have been mapped out.

**Sergei Rogov:** The opinion of the majority and the opinion of the minority have always existed and still exist in social life. If the opinion of the minority is infringed upon, a dictatorship of the majority gradually develops. It stands to reason that the rights of all citizens must be protected in a law-governed state. But should tolerance be absolute? Whenever it comes to different spiritual values, different points of view, the question can be solved by means of a discussion, with the help of debates where differences exist. We need to get rid of the bad habit or distorting the opponent's view. We need to learn to listen to the opponent and understand him. When someone strives to foment national, racial or religious strife, this cannot but evoke a negative reaction. If we encounter deliberate attempts to mislead people—for instance, distributing the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion", with their myth about a Jewish-masonic conspiracy—it is hard to resign oneself to these shams. Intolerance of them is only natural.

**Pastor Gennady Sergeyenko:** This talk may not change anyone's opinion, but it is tolerance that will help us solve the complicated problems facing all of us today. We religious people lack tolerance only in relation to sin. Sometimes we are eager to make a person change his mind as quickly as possible, make him accept positions similar to ours, but this easy way has little in common with Christianity.

Is there any alternative to tolerance? Intolerance has always been accompanied by violence, increasingly refined and steadily "perfected". The 1930s in our country were linked with the most ruthless terror against our own people, and now, at the close of the century, man has developed the means to destroy all life on earth.

**Archpriest Nikolai Vedernikov:** charity and tolerance are two sides of the same coin—philanthropy. The parish where I serve, and the nearest district hospital have agreed on cooperation in the area of charity. At the calling of their conscience our church parishioners regularly visit the hospital's gravely-ill patients. The patients are of different nationalities, creeds, views and persuasions. Yet all of this pales beside the sick, suffering person. He is lonely, and a kind word or gesture is as effective as any medicine. Many know a parable about the good Samaritan who helped a sick man of a different nationality, abandoned to the mercy of fate. Isn't it a model of overcoming hostility and alienation? This Christian attitude towards all people is based on Christ's commandment to love one's fellow man. The human being is a creature endowed with freedom of choice, freedom of will. Jesus Christ says: "Whoever wants to follow me, let him". In this way God himself recognizes human freedom, including religious liberty. It is the duty of every Christian to respect people of other persuasions. People belong to different nationalities and religions, we are all very different, with different world views. But for all people the human being is the supreme value, and he must be treated in a human way. In this we are all at one.

**Yuri Davydov:** Church representatives, religious people find it easier to speak about tolerance—they have a tradition. It is harder for us, non-believers, to speak about this. We have hardened in intolerance, having raised it to the rank of social self-awareness. As a result, we have no tolerance or mercy for the human being, for the animal or even for nature itself. I happened to learn tolerance, strange as it may seem, in Stalinist camps. This was difficult, but there was no other way of surviving there: privations, hunger and the difficulties of camp life brought us together.

**Sergei Averintsev:** Freedom, and solidarity among people who disagree with one another, in reestablishing their freedom is a practical question. Yuri Davydov opportunely recalled camp inmates. Their experience must be learned from, otherwise we shall again experience the same thing. In this connection I remembered the words of a German: "Hitler imprisoned Jews, I didn't like it, but I am not a Jew; he imprisoned Catholics, I didn't like

it, but I am a Protestant' he imprisoned Communists and Socialists, this was none of my business either. But when they came to get me, there was no one to stand up for me."

**Alexander Nezhny:** It will be difficult for us to tolerate dissent so long as we have not understood ourselves and how we came to accept this life and from whence our intolerance of religion and the Church originated. It is because of intolerance that many of our people suffered for their religious views. I am convinced that we shall not become purer and more tolerant unless we say the whole truth about those times. It is lamentable that many relatively young representatives from the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the USSR Council of Ministers—mediators between the state and religious communities, between local authorities and believers—are so full of the spirit of Stalinist intolerance that they are as zealous as their predecessors in persecuting the Church and believers.

**Mark Smirnov:** I believe that the root causes of intolerance—not only in believers, but in deviants generally—lie in our prerevolutionary history. Orthodoxy was the only religion recognized and protected by the state. Other religions or creeds were merely "tolerated". A Russian who converted from Orthodoxy to another faith was considered a criminal. Many Russian Protestants and Catholics, as well as Dukhobors, Molokans, and Tolstoyans, were persecuted as dissidents. Sometimes they chose to emigrate. Even after the 1905 revolution, when Emperor Nicholas II granted civil liberties to the citizens of Russia, the principles of tolerance were not fully realized. Persecutions of Old Believers and some sectarians were stopped, but not the restrictions of civil and political rights vis-a-vis "persons of alien and heterodox faith".

After 1917, the Church was separated from the state, and the question of belonging to one or another religion was removed, but people's mind-sets don't change as quickly as legislation. Steeped in intolerance for centuries, society could not instantly part with its spiritual malady. Bellicose atheism was introduced into the mass mentality instead of religion. The people's religious elan was transferred to the building of a religion-free society which excluded the Church and even the very idea of God.

**Monsignor Janis Pujats:** Public figures, writers, scientists and religious representatives should all champion the basic human right: freedom of opinion even if it conflicts with the majority view. People of different persuasions must have equal rights and possibilities. Believers and atheists are not equal in our society. Atheists may propagate their ideas, whereas believers, according to the Constitution, may only perform religious rites. There is a world of difference here. It is gratifying that now, given our society's democratization, many religious communities have received official status. But we, the Catholic clergy, cannot but feel concern

over the condition of Ukrainian Catholics in the Western regions of the Ukraine. We must guarantee tolerance of political views and religious convictions.

**Alexei Mikheyev:** For us, the community of Krishna's Consciousness, tolerance is a pressing problem. For many years our brothers in faith have been treated as dissenters, forbidden to hold religious meetings. For a long time they could not secure their community's registration. We were officially recognized a few months ago. But three of our brethren are still in prison for propagating the Krishnaite way of life.

**Mark Smirnov:** Non-acceptance of someone else's way of life is also a kind of intolerance. When a doctor recommends avoiding this or that food, suggests walking barefoot on snow and bathing in ice holes, no one questions him—if anything, television popularizes his advice. But if a believer says he doesn't eat meat for religious reasons, that is hazardous to his health and he can be tried on criminal charges. I think this is unfair.

**Yuri Davydov:** Old Believers have a fine saying: "The Church is not in logs, but in bones." It is good that churches are being restored, but it is most important for the Church to revive primarily in people's souls, in their bones. Otherwise this will only amount to a restoration of monuments—not spiritual life.

**Pastor Mikhail Kulakov:** The events connected with perestroika are both momentous and encouraging for us Adventists. We salute perestroika because it has opened up fresh possibilities for the free profession of faith and for free service to society.

Our Church knows the meaning of intolerance. Before the Revolution my grandfather was a preacher, and he told me how many times he had been arrested by the police for religious activities. My father was also a preacher of our Church. I well remember the time when he was disfranchised and exiled with his family. This happened before the war. When the war started, my elder brother went to the front, battled his way to Berlin and returned home, decorated with combat awards. He and I started serving in our Adventist community. For this we were condemned and sent to prison camps. We see the question of tolerance as vital, and I am grateful to all those who defend freedom of conscience, tolerance and respect for different views.

**Sergei Averintsev:** The best way to resolve problems is through open debate. People do not necessarily have to agree to respect one another. Chesterton has this phrase: I hate quarrels because they spoil the argument. Intolerance in debate prevents people from understanding what exactly each side means. Chesterton has another aphorism: Love differentiates, hatred unifies. There exists the law of mirror reflection, under which the hating sides repeat each other's actions in evil mirror-like enchantment.

The question we are discussing now has a religious connotation because there is no moral issue which does not have religious grounds for a believer. But this question concerns all members of society equally.

Now that we have established that society's life is impossible without tolerance, I would like to say a few words about the nationalities question and intolerance on this basis. During the stagnation period, some propriety was maintained with the help of a system of conventionalities. Fortunately, this period is behind us. When I recently read in a newspaper a protest from General Dragunsky against pogrom-like aspirations, I thought: why can't I fully sympathize? Because when the Jewish national and cultural traditions and ethnic identity were violated in the guise of an anti-religious struggle against judaism, Dragunsky kept silent. I believe that we must speak to the point and truthfully, calling things by their proper names.

I don't want to offend my Jewish friends. But I am a Russian and my prime concern is Russians. Because the destiny of every nation which tried to find a scapegoat to blame for society's troubles, ills and sins was sad. The fate of Spain is hard: once a leading cultural world power, it is now the backwoods of Europe. Germany's fate is harder still. I am afraid to think of what may happen to us if national intolerance gains the upper hand in society.

Lastly, the Russian Federation's Constitution of 1918 states that all citizens are free to conduct religious and anti-religious propaganda. But then in 1929, the year Stalin's one-man rule started, the 14th Congress of Soviets adopted an amendment, which has been retained in the Constitution to this day—that believers are free to perform religious rites. Christianity is a religion of faith and convictions. But by interdicting or restricting people's religious feelings it is only possible to generate martyrdom and untraditional religious sects. I would like to quote Lenin's words from his pamphlet "To the Rural Poor", which correctly express the democratic tradition: "Everybody must be perfectly free, not only to profess whatever religion he pleases, but also to spread or change his religion. No official should have the right even to ask anyone about his religion: that is a matter for each person's conscience..."

Not for a minute should we forget that we live in a country where religious people have been insulted for decades. For the spiritual climate to somewhat change now and for every individual to feel this irrespective of his convictions, we must ensure that our life will correspond to democratic norms. Much is yet to be done for the believers to believe that changes have really occurred in society, civil rights have really been recognized. This is when they will begin to straighten themselves up. But that will not occur overnight. As far as tolerance is concerned, it starts with little things—with communication in a shared flat, on the staircase...

**Mark Smirnov:** We have tried theoretically to remove many contradictions of life, but life differs from deliberations about life in that it is much more complicated and does not fit into schemes and patterns.

We were all united by the sense of responsibility for our common home. To our future meetings devoted to the conditions of normal life in this home we would like to invite the representatives of Islam, Judaism and Buddhism—religions which are professed by millions of Soviet citizens—as well as all those who are sincerely interested in conversation based on tolerance and respect for people, for their ideas and creeds.

### **Philosophy Student Requests Rehabilitation of the Word 'God'**

*18120012 Moscow VEK XX I MIR in English  
No 8 1988 p 6*

[Article by Nadezhda Lavrenyuk, a candidate of philosophy: "The Eternal Staff"]

[Text] I'd like to write in defense of the Word and to rehabilitate it after unjust blame. Although the Word needs nobody's help. We ourselves have lost all of the completeness and depth of its content. In coming out against the Word and distorting its sense, we made ourselves vapid and numb, suffered defeat after defeat. And I want this to be realized.

The word "God" was seriously "scolded during the struggle between religion and atheism, carried on all levels of the history of mankind right up to its physical annihilation. And today we are so involved in the fight between religion and atheism that it is difficult to overstep its bounds. Nevertheless, it is worth trying to find a common support, to rise above arguments and to widen our horizons. That "the truth is half way between" is popular wisdom. When there are opposites there is also a centre harmonizing them. Isn't it the first duty of an investigator of truth to go straight for it, looking neither to the right nor to the left?", we shall ask after Karl Marx, using his own words.

The word "God" was retained in the history of world culture. It was written with a capital letter. Religions have changed, tactics and the range of the struggle among different ideological currents have changed, too, but the word "God" has invariably accompanied mankind regardless of which point of view prevailed.

Indeed, due to such immense strength contained in it, the Word was able to make it through all the trials in all the layers of culture right through to today. It is a truly living word. Everything that is still-born and formally constructed is capable of living, lest it only interests its creator. There are very many such fashionable words being whirled about by a vortex of ephemeral necessities, and swept out of our language, like leaves swept off a road in autumn. And the word "God" containing three

sounds is quite a different thing; like a beam penetrating all the life elements, it has been crystallized in great number of considerable manifestations of culture.

Culture, this specific way of organizing and developing human life, having determined its difference from biological forms promotes the process of humanization and perfection of the human being. The role of an ideal is immense. Maxim Gorky expressed the wonderful idea, "When a human being was deprived of his ability to walk on all fours by nature, he was given an ideal in the form of a staff. And ever since that time he has been subconsciously striving for perfection".

One may laugh at this staff, try to knock it out of somebody's hands, one may cast it aside, having felt another strength, or one may try to substitute it for something different, but it won't stop being a support, with the help of which mankind achieved a certain level of development. It seems false to deprive the word of its sense and to erase its essence, it is impossible to forget it, because the word has become a part of the flesh and blood of the process of humanization. Finally, the word is connected with the idea of the most perfect man, embodied in the images of Christ, Buddha and Muhammed. The word is the vision of harmony and perfection of the universe expressing the dialectics of this word by the unity of God the Father, God the Son and

God the Holy Spirit, and the unity of Truth, Goodness and Beauty.

The word "God" was used to determine the strongest staff, the most accurate reference-point, the most reliable support of mankind in its movement towards perfection. Like rivers to an ocean, so did people bring their best dreams and aspirations. One may substitute one form of the word for another. But what other form can be used to hold its content, one that had been acquiring this form for thousands of years, the word that consists of three sounds, the word which is written with a capital letter?

While uttering the Word, we automatically start thinking about its ideological orientation and our own position. And, as a rule, we don't go any further. Isn't our position too narrow and superficial? Maybe, the Word shouldn't be used in a context connected with the struggle of religion and atheism, maybe it should denote a value common to all mankind. In this case, our socialist culture would be enriched with the best achievements of world culture, and would successfully develop them. We should gain, too.

Now we find ourselves in conditions of new reality, which demands a spiritual revival. Can perestroika in all spheres be of full value without its highest and real ideal, filled with vital content, without the heart balancing the rhythm of life and work of the entire organism?

**Sharpened Literary Polemics Prompt Call for  
'Constructive Dialogue'**

*1800062 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 1988 p 8*

[Article by A. Neverov: "Unfinished Disputes"]

[Text] Recently it appears that literary criticism evokes no less reader interest than popular novels and stories. This is not surprising since, even in their superficial aspects, these articles and reviews have become more uninhibited, timely, and unprejudiced.

What was still impossible yesterday, has become commonplace today; if you want to criticize the literary authorities at any level—go ahead; if you burn with the desire to express controversial, unorthodox opinions—be our guests..

Of course, however, it is more than superficial timeliness that attracts attention; criticism, which is a reflection of the state of affairs and the state of mind in literature, has become the arena for confrontations between differing viewpoints, opinions, and ideas.

Anyone who keeps up with the periodical literature knows how sharply the lines of opposition have been drawn between such publications as OGONEK, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, and ZNAMYA, on one hand, and NASH SOVREMENNENIK, MOLODAYA GVARDIYA, and MOSKVA, on the other. This does not mean that other newspapers and journals do not participate in the polemic. Of course they participate, up to and including the Latvian DAUGAVA and the departmental KNIZHNOYE OBOZRENIYE. But the "lines of fire" have been drawn between the periodicals cited.

Disputes over specific works, particular authors and literary and societal events of the past are the occasion for conflicts among different views of our country's past and future, the historic fate of the people, and the culture of our fatherland. But, alas, this is not all: all sorts of personal and group interests and grudges, mutual resentments, the desire to eliminate rivals, no matter what the cost, end up occupying the center of attention. And, what is more, frequently these two get all mixed up—principles and ambitions, what is really important and what is trivial.

In one "camp" we see, for example, obsession with searching out the "enemies of perestroika," a group which, as a rule, is considered to include anyone who expresses doubts about the merits of a novel by Rybakov or a play by Shatrov. In the other camp, there reigns a surprising degree of unanimity in rejection, for example, of the criticism of NOVYY MIR of the 60s or the work of Yu. Trifonov. Even today's difficulties with subscriptions have served as a pretext for mutual, and as it has turned out, not always justified suspicions and reproaches.

There are a number of different attitudes one can adopt to all this. One, for example, could choose to adopt the position of one of the sides and "root for one's favorite team," rejoicing at the other's blunders, and reacting to even the appearance of "those who are against us" with whistles and hoots. By the way, the "teams" and their "trainers" frequently provoke such reactions in the public.

In general this is nothing but useless, fruitless squabbling. It is difficult at present to feel any hope that the "sides will make peace;" the chasm which divides them is too deep, and the list of injuries on both sides is too long. It is true that in the past these injuries were not discussed openly, but were repressed artificially through administrative methods. We are now reaping the fruits of this. We are spending much time and energy in fighting out disputes that are 20 years old.

But couldn't we try to see this polemic as not merely an exhausting battle which periodically escalates, but also as a joint movement toward common goals of social groups with different ideological positions? Aren't we all, in the final analysis, thinking of right and truth, the good of the people and country, the worth of the culture of our fatherland? Do we understand these values differently? Do we propose diametrically opposed means of attaining these goals? Well, what of it, this is what glasnost is for, to discuss, dispute, and convince.

Take, for example, the conversation in the periodical literature on "Children of the Arbat" by A. Rybakov. In my view, if one ignores the extremism of the evaluations (which is dictated by the emotions), one sees that this discussion has expanded the ideas of all of us about the epoch of the 20s-30s, the phenomenon of the "personality cult," and the sources and meaning of what happened in our country [during those years]. Furthermore, focus on the deepest levels of historical phenomena can be noted not only in articles by adherents of the novel (I would cite the work of A. Bocharov and L. Anninskiy in OKTYABR), but also in the writings of those who are more restrained in their reaction to this work. The articles by V. Kozhilov and A. Lanshchikov in NASH SOVREMENNENIK could have been reproached for being inappropriate (their main focus is on points that are not in the novel at all), if from the very beginning it had not been clear that, for both writers, "Children of the Arbat" serves as the pretext for a broader discussion of pivotal events of our history, for a discussion that is not aesthetic, but social and political. By the way, this social and political discussion, to some extent, prepared the soil for reception of the subsequent works of V. Grossman, V. Shalamov, Yu. Dombrovskiy, and others.

From this perspective, the still unfinished critical debates on the events of 20 years ago revolving around NOVYY MIR headed by A. Tvardovskiy and MOLODAYA GVARDIYA then edited by A. Nikonov are of interest. The use of previously unpublished material and the analyses of the state of society contained in the

articles by participants and observers of these events, Yu. Burtin and V. Lakshin on one side and M. Lobanov on the other, help us to gain a better understanding of today's disagreements, whether they concern the understanding of populist literature or the role of a certain group of intelligentsia in a social movement...

The authors of the articles, acting, of course, to achieve their own goals, add to and correct each other and it is important to see the grain of truth in the arguments of both sides and to discuss it.

Attempts of this sort are being made with increasing frequency: in LITERATURN OBOZRENIYE, the editor-in-chief of which, L. Lavlinskiy, carefully and calmly (unlike many today) analyzes the arguments of the polemicists of MOSKVA and OGONEK; or in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, which frequently allows those who hold opposing opinions to express themselves in the same issue; or in the discussion of contemporary criticism on the pages of LITERATURNAYA UCHEBA, where I. Vinogradov, who began the discussion, tries to define the horizon of critical thought, freed from artistic limits; or in the recent collection, "Viewpoint" (published by Sovetskiy Pisatel) compiled by A. Latynina and S. Lesnevskiy, which includes works of famous critics. "In selecting this name," the editors say in their foreword, "we wanted to remind readers of the right of critics to hold various points of view on the same subject."

And here A. Adamovich, himself frequently prone to sharp words and extreme views, published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, an article with the unexpected but telling title: "After all we are all on the same side!" This writer is "convinced that if both social movements—the democratic-rights consciousness and the national-revival consciousness—do not find a way to meet in the 'center', as has already occurred here and there in the republics, then perestroika will feel the pressure and will be threatened." His calls to withhold one's own name and that of others from the "extremists," and to "search for solutions in the interests of perestroika" are also timely.

It is just this capacity to act in the interests of perestroika (understood not in terms of the interests of the moment nor in a narrow departmental sense, but as concern for the true interests of the people and the development of democracy) that must become the criterion for evaluating the civic and professional positions of each of us. True concern about the most important things must unite honorable people holding different views.

But will the facts cited permit us to establish a shift "from confrontation to dialogue"? Unfortunately, this formula, beloved by the internationalists, is scarcely an appropriate description of the literary situation in our

country. Dialogue, in the full meaning of the word, is not occurring at present in spite of the efforts of the peace-makers. Neither side hears what the other is saying.

Why? This question was last put by A. Latynina in her article "Bell ringing—not prayers. The question of literary polemics" (NOVYY MIR, No. 8). The critic writes of the necessity for "understanding the point of view of your opponent and reacting to the sum total of the ideas he expresses, among which there may be some that are fruitful, and not to the personality or reputation of the author," and rather convincingly illustrates the problems of the latter approach with examples of recent disputes in the literary periodicals. This article not only analyzes the state of affairs in criticism, but also speaks about what can form the basis of a dialogue of "living ideas," and also about the conditions under which such a dialogue is possible. "It is necessary that love for one's country and culture outweigh the desire to seize an ideological monopoly."

The thoughts expressed by A. Latynina develop and make concrete ideas previously appearing in our periodicals, for example, in the interviews and articles by S. Averintsev in his recent collection "An Attempt to Explain" (Biblioteka Ogonek, No. 13). Here, he formulates the most urgent task of the intelligentsia as "developing the culture of disagreement, the culture of controversy—not soft-hearted universal tolerance, but a sincere mutual respect." S. Averintsev has revealed to dialectics the position of an "ideal" participant (so-to speak) in a dialogue, who is firm in defending his convictions, yet at the same time feels responsibility for the "whole" and the "true."

Isn't it this feeling of the "whole" which is expressed in V. Slutskiy's poem "Unfinished Disputes"?

"...into the time-honored disputes  
I will inject my small experience.  
Into the vast spaces of the ocean,  
I will put one drop  
Unfinished disputes,  
Will not finish with me."

A. Latynina has taken the risk of comparing certain discussions of today with the "ideal. She has tried to disclose the sources of group intolerance, and define the positions of the opposite sides. One can argue with these definitions: "conservators standing guard over 'ideal purity' and personal privileges" (is the latter really the most important thing for all of them?) and those who march "under the banner of democratization" (the critic herself speaks of some deficit of democratism in this "camp") and, finally, the "national radicals" .. The time has long come for discussion of these positions and the terms which describe them. As it is, we contrive to argue while the essence of the disagreement remains, so to speak, behind a screen.

This article also poses the question of the possibility of allowing the adherents of all views, even the most extreme to have their say (so that one can argue with them on the basis of substance of their ideas). This question too is controversial and requires calm, sober discussion.

As could have been expected, the article in NOVYY MIR has already evoked response in other print media. One of the first to respond was L. Ovrutskiy in a polemic article, "Freedom for unfree thoughts?" in SOVETS-KAYA KULTURA.

He argues with Latynina's main thesis that "disrespect for freedom of thought is the major fault of our disputes." "However, it is not difficult to see," he writes, "that this fault turns into its opposite and becomes a virtue, if you will only say: disrespect for freedom of unfree thought."

It sounds good, but one thing is not clear: who will determine the degree of freedom of thought and how will it be done. For example, to what degree does it possess the "spirit of conservatism," which "blocks" productive thinking about "existing ideas"? It is true that we have acquired an enormous amount of experience at things like this. I mean both past experience at throwing "reactionary writers" off the "ship of modernity" and today's attempts by certain critics to turn everyone who does not agree with them into "enemies of perestroyka," and mercilessly expose them.

This word upsets A. Latynina, because it is not in the lexicon of freedom. "Do not dissemble, lest you be exposed," answers her opponent. And I again think: who will undertake to decide whether a person is speaking sincerely or "dissembling"? Moreover, both the past and the present show us that there are always those who are eager to expose others, specialists in discovering secret intentions, even where there is not a hint of such intentions. They quickly figure out who is "pro" and who "contra"? And if someone's intentions are explained erroneously, then he must take comfort from the fact that this was not done out of mercenary motives (which Ovrutskiy condemns), but from ideological ones...

One cannot help thinking: doesn't history teach us something about this?

L. Ovrutskiy speaks of "moral relativism" as a consequence of a superfluity of freedom, so to speak; however, A. Latynina's idea of the "danger of new dogmatism" appears more timely and consistent with our principles.

This danger can be felt in the unwillingness of certain critics to argue about the substance of the issues, replacing proofs with emotions and political labels, and in their

desire to morally discredit their opponent, failing to really listen to them, but instead "putting words in their mouths," i.e., attributing to them low motives and obvious inanities.

No matter who uses such "measures," no matter what the tactical reasons for doing so, one would do well to remember the inevitable strategic loss, and the fact that this is a good way to discredit one's own goals. Moreover, serious doubts creep in as to whether these goals are really as lofty as proclaimed,

There is yet another characteristic trait of the "new dogmatism" (not to mention the old or any other dogmatism), i.e., intolerance of people who are not members of any group or subgroup and who try to use "a third point of view" to look at the state of affair as objectively as possible...

However, this conversation, judging by all the signs, is not over. One would like to believe that it not only will explain much in the positions of the disputing sides, but will reveal their readiness to truly acknowledge the rights of their opponents, and thus, to engage in constructive dialogue.

**More Letters on Monument to Stalin's Victims**  
*18000015 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in*  
*Russian 24 Sep 88 p 7*

[Letters to the editor under the rubric: "Memorial to Victims of Repressions: Opinions, Proposals": "Lesson and Last Will"]

[Text] Today we continue to publish readers' letters concerning the construction of a memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions. There are many letters, and pain for one's past, memory voices, and feeling of responsibility for the future could be found behind each line. Let us note that many people are worried about the idea of a memorial itself and are concerned that it will be stifled during approval and simply by good intentions. These concerns seem to be justified because we have more than enough examples of when good ideas died during empty talks. In order to prevent such an occurrence this time, we think that an extremely concrete discussion with bringing forward very different but substantiated proposals for the future monument is necessary. The issue remains open and we are awaiting your letters.

Proposals for building a monument to the victims of Stalinism were made again at the 19th All-Union Party conference. Those are correct ideas. They are needed not only for us, who in one or another way lived through this horror, but also for our children and grandchildren. However, I am afraid that after building the monument in Moscow, the State and hence all of us will consider the matter closed. It will be buried under empty talks, seals of approval, and organizational measures...

I think that memorials to the victims of repressions during the 30's, 40's, and 50's, must be built not only in Moscow, but in each republican capital and, at least, in each center of an oblast. And before announcing a creative competition, it is necessary to determine the names of all, who were killed, and places of their burials. And let those be simple, not mass-produced steles, or obelisks, but with names and empty spaces for those, who have not been found yet.

I think that these activities could be delegated to Komsomol, older school students, and members of formal and non-formal organizations. And, what is more, these activities will find thousands of unselfish volunteers.

I have the right to write this letter. I was 13 when my father was arrested (4 Nov 37). Visits to prisons and transfer points produced nothing. In 1939, my mother was verbally advised that he received 10 years without correspondence rights. In 1956 he was posthumously rehabilitated. Also verbally I was told that he died on 20 Apr 42 of brain blood vessels' atherosclerosis.

And that at age 47!

For 32 years I do not believe either the diagnosis or the date of death. I do not need a memorial in Moscow. I want on the memorable for me days to bring a flower and to bow to the memory of my father. I think that the majority of people similar to me share these feelings with me.

G. Korotayeva, Kharkov.

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In 1937 the former Yekaterininskiy (Dyevichiy) monastery in Sukhanovo near Moscow was turned into a prison. Thus, the Sukhanovka was created, which was, according to descriptions of eyewitnesses—political prisoners, a horrible prison of the Stalin's regime. In 50's it still existed. I was then a boy and remember sentries on watch-towers. Later the prison disappeared.

The territory of the monastery for many years served as our playground, because we lived very close to it. Up to the 60's, one could still read the inscriptions on the walls because the cells remained the same as the martyrs of Sukhanovka had seen them.

Later the monastery was closed and rebuilt to become, it seems, a training center of an MVD school. Today, it is impossible for anybody to enter the territory. Only rumors about what was going on here remained...All surrounding land was built up long ago and the monastery's crosses are barely seen. I should mention that construction around the monastery was carried out without any system; namely, they built garages, industrial buildings, etc., just to conceal from the human eye the ready monument to the Stalin's era.

I think that we should not conceal this building from people. On the contrary, we should mark with a memorial plaque the place of suffering of political prisoners and convert it into a monument.

B. Smirnov, Moscow

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Finally, after almost 27 years since the 27th CPSU Congress, a monument to the victims of repression will be built. In order to prevent delays in creation and construction of the monument, special attention must be paid to the leading center of the Memorial society. The children of the "enemies of the peoples" and the "enemies" themselves, whose health would allow them to become the "shaft-horses in the relay" and who would have not only the desire and diligence but also practical and organizational abilities, must become members of the center.

I am the son of a professional revolutionary and statesman, who led the revolution at Presnya (commissar of the MVRK, military commissar), People's commissar of the RSFR light industry, leading worker of the VSNKh and Gosplan, and the director of the Central Scientific-Research Institute of chemical industry. Father was killed in 1940 in Magadan and rehabilitated in 1956.

The Memorial society must have power. I have a thought and practical proposals on the subject. I established connections with the CPSU Moscow and Moscow city committees, Moscow central archives, and the Krasnaya Presnya museum.

I am ready to take on my shoulders one of the sections of the society's work at its core group.

V. Marzhanov, Moscow

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I propose that the Aleksandrovskiy Sad be the place of the monument and that a flame must necessarily be there. Flame is a symbol of Memory, Eternity, Renovation, Good, Light, Truth, Enlightenment, and Faith...Olympic Flame, Eternal Flame, Promethean Flame, Sacrificial Flame...And we come to the Eternal Flame, to the Unknown Soldier, and everyone who comes is mourning about not only the unknown soldier, but also about his own relative and about the whole nation. Perhaps, it is the strongest monument to memory. And how to realize the flame is the business of professionals, namely, sculptors and architects.

A. Ustinov, Director of the editorial offices of the journal MUZYKA V SHKOLE.

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It is necessary to publish a book "Repressions of Years Past." Representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, Supreme Soviet, Council of Ministers, Supreme Court's Procuracy, KGB, and MVD should be included in the commission for its publication. Such an edition would help to restore justice and would name those, who committed crimes, and loud-mouths concealing their participation in repressions. Unlike the book, the monument's granite cannot tell everything.

V. Slonov, war and labor veteran, Kiev

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In late December, 1937, one day before he was arrested, my husband Mikhail Grigoryevich Ababurko with the help of the secretary of Party obkom Pevznyak managed to send me and our daughter to the mainland. One hour before we left he asked me to listen carefully to what he had to say: "I will die. When Klara (the oldest daughter) will marry and give birth to a son, I ask to perpetuate my rare last name. As to you, I recommend to change your last name to that of your father in order for the children not to become orphans. Stalin will not spare anybody." I refused to change my last name and promised to save the Ababurko last name for the children. However, due to my father's demands and threats, we had to change our last names. Thus, my two daughters and grandson fulfilled the request of the father, husband, and grandfather. In spite of the changed name, all these years before the rehabilitation I could not find for myself a peaceful place because I was a wife of an "enemy of the people." A thought that I also could be arrested was following me at my every step. I want to express a wish that the memory of the victims of Stalin's repressions is also perpetuated in Yakutsk. All old Bolsheviks were arrested in Yakutsk. In 1939 the secretary of Party obkom Pavel Pevznyak was arrested.

B. Esterkina, Leningrad.

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While we are deciding how the memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions should look, time is passing by, and people are passing away with it. All those who are witnesses are passing away. If they are single people, invaluable documents, namely, letters, sketches, photographs of the victims, and documents unmasking Stalin's regime will be lost together with them. Before the verdict is in, it is necessary already today based on the press initiative, including your own newspaper, and with assistance of historians, to create in Moscow a receiving point of a commission, which would enable people to send there documents, memoirs, and simply letters of eyewitnesses. The memorial to the victims of Stalin's repressions (whether it will be steel, sculptural compositions, etc.) will be incomplete without a library, a storage facility, where originals and copies of what is more

horrible than any damnation are saved. My mother, the daughter of the recently rehabilitated Bolshevik, Martemyan Nikitich Ryutin, who was one of the first people to raise her voice against Stalin's despotism and was killed without ever kneeling, during the days of despair was entrusting to a tape recorder anything she could remember about her father, mother, brothers, and what she herself went through. The mark of being the "daughter of an enemy of the people" followed her for 55 of her 77 years. We are ready to give away this tape and the family photograph (the only thing that is left), and the names of camps, and the dates when all the people on the photograph had perished, and copies of different official replies received before 1988. I am sure that these invaluable documents, which would be definitely sent to this commission, are more reliable than any granite or marble. This is people's memory.

Let it be in the beginning only receiving and organization of storage. Let the documents meanwhile come to this commission. As to their classification, processing, and copying of the originals, these activities could be organized a little later. Meanwhile, we cannot lose a single day. I was a witness to heartbreaking scenes during the meeting of Stalin's victims in Leningrad. People came from different cities only to tell about the pain which for decades was choking their throats. However, when they would be given the floor they would leave the podium crying and unable to say anything sensible because of long "dumbness" and lack of public speaking skills. But they will certainly write. I understand that we are to ask for offices, drawers, chairs, and office supplies....And, maybe, the Institute of the USSR History at the USSR Academy of Sciences will provide 5-6 conscientious researchers for these activities.

Such a pity that I live in Leningrad. I would abandon all my private affairs and would pursue these activities till I die. I would be happy to live on my pension only. But this must be done in Moscow. I am sure that willing young and very old people could be found there also.

Yu. Zhukovskaya, Leningrad.

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The Party relay-race in my family was started in 1905 by my grandfather Hans Pegelman. He perished in Stalin's torture-chambers in 1938, and his wife and a student-daughter (my mother) spent many years in exile as the "enemies of the people." A monument to the well-known Party and public figure Hans Pegelman was erected in the center of Tallin long ago. His name is awarded to a factory, a street in the capital of the republic, and to schools. But one would search in vain for the date of his death on the memorial plaques. Those who erected monuments to revolutionaries perished during the cult of Stalin had a notion that mentioning the 1937 and 1938 would "irritate" the people.

I think that before we build memorials to the victims of Stalin's repressions, we must finally loudly announce to the Soviet people what was the number of these victims among workers, peasants, intelligentsia, clergy, workers of culture and science, and Party workers. I understand that all the names cannot be mentioned on the memorial. Their count is in millions rather than in thousands. However, the total number must be stated in order for

this memorial to become a memory of justice revived by the Party. Stalin and the Stalinists were exterminating not just a few persons, as Nina Andreyeva and her supporters would like to prove such a notion today, but the entire nation suffered from their crimes.

N. Dyachenko, Leningrad.

## Latvian Popular Front Draft Program, Charter Published

### Latvian Popular Front Draft Program

1800022 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian  
8 Sep 88 pp 1-2

[Program drafted by the editorial commission to prepare the draft program of the Temporary Initiative Center of the Popular Front of Latvia]

[Text] The radical restructuring and moral renewal of society are the main conditions of its existence and development.

Soviet power has been created to achieve people's aspiration for freedom, prosperity, social justice, and ethnic equality. But Stalinism, voluntarism, and the stagnation resulted in substantial deformation in sociopolitical, economic, social and cultural life, and in ethnic relations. A wide gap was formed between words and deeds and between the bureaucratic apparatus and the people, and society found itself in a crisis situation.

A historical opportunity has now come about to extricate ourselves from the heavy burden of the past, to revive Leninist principles of socialism, and to shape a society that corresponds to the people's interests, needs, and will. Restructuring was begun "from above," but it can be made irreversible only by energetic participation of the people, insisting on glasnost and law and order from below.

### I. General Principles

1. The Popular Front of Latvia (NFL) is a public organization of the republic that came into being because the people became politically active. It consistently acts to support restructuring in Latvia on the principles of democratic socialism and humanism and takes part in exercising the will of the people and creating a socialist state based on law. The NFL opposes any monopolization of authority.

2. The NFL supports and consolidates the aspirations of the entire population of Latvia aimed at democratization of society and promoting its moral renewal. The NFL brings people together regardless of social position, language, or the party, religion, or nationality they belong to.

Participation in the NFL is incompatible with the propagation of Stalinist and authoritarian views, with support of administrative-command methods of bureaucratic management, with the preaching of racism, nationalism, or religious or other enmity and intolerance, and violence of any kind. The NFL operates with methods that are democratic and acknowledged by the Constitution.

3. The NFL advocates formation of constructive ethnic relations on the basis of Leninist principles of self-determination and equality of nationalities in a union of soviet states.

4. In performing the tasks envisaged by the program and charter, the NFL cooperates closely with soviets and other institutions of the state as well as with public organizations. The NFL does not strive to take upon itself the functions of any bodies of the state whatsoever or to act as a substitute for the other public organizations.

5. The ideological and ethical program of the NFL consists of general human values, humanism, and a pluralism of views, respect for the rights of all nationalities, social justice, respect for the individual and protection of his legitimate interests.

The activity of the Popular Front of Latvia is based on principles set forth in the resolutions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, on the basic principles expressed by party members and workers of the republic on the eve of the 19th party conference, and also in the resolution of the June (1988) Expanded Plenum of the Board of the LaSSR Writers Union.

### II. Democratization of the State and Society

1. The NFL supports the radical reform of the political system proposed by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which is aimed at attainment of real conformity to soviet statehood and the concept of state of the entire people (vsenarodnoye) proclaimed in the Constitution. Instead of a political system that operates in the name of the people only in a formal sense, but is substantially alienated from it, authentic popular government is to be created. All elected bodies, from work collectives up to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet should be made up of representatives who have the desire and ability to express the thoughts of their constituents and the desire and ability to protect their interests. The NFL believes it is indispensable to adopt a new election law guaranteeing free competition of differing views and strict surveillance over proper determination of election results. The NFL is ready to furnish support and assistance to the deputies elected by the people, to strengthen their ties to the voters, and at the same time to keep watch that they do not depart from the instructions from the voters and their own campaign platform.

2. The NFL consistently favors creation of a state based on law. Relations between the state and the citizen must be regulated only by the law. The bodies and officials of the state are accountable to the citizens, just as the citizens are accountable to the state. The popular masses must take part in the drafting of legislation through popular discussion and by voting. The procedure in which the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet may amend a law adopted by the Supreme Soviet should be renounced. The activity of the courts, the procurators'

offices, arbitration commissions, investigating personnel, and the police must remain within the limits of the law. The NFL calls upon the LaSSR Supreme Soviet to create a commission that would monitor the lawfulness of the activity of state agencies whose function it is to protect the state and state security and also that of agencies for internal affairs.

3. The NFL will fight to achieve the state sovereignty proclaimed in the LaSSR Constitution and reestablishment of the Leninist principles of federalism. The people of Latvia must be master on their own soil and must decide all matters independently. The USSR and LaSSR Constitutions must with constitutional strictness and clarity delineate the powers of the federation and the republic and extend to the republic the right of veto in deciding those matters which essentially affect its interests, as well as the right to enter independently into direct relations with other states and international organizations. The need has now arisen to define in the LaSSR Constitution the status of the citizen of Latvian SSR. An independent legal system must be set up in Latvian SSR to regulate issues in the life of the republic.

4. The NFL is resolutely opposed to manifestations of the administrative-command style and bureaucratization of the apparatus of the state. Every work collective must have the right to independently decide the issues of their own activity. The NFL demands that all officials of the state be subject to authentic oversight on the part of soviets of people's deputies and the public. Every appointment to a position of leadership in the state must take place with prior notification or consent of soviets of people's deputies and their standing commissions.

5. The NFL demands separation of the functions of party and state, separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, which is indispensable to correct the concentration of authoritarian power in the hands of a single person or group of persons. A constitutional court has to be created as a completely independent body which would see that all normative acts issued by government bodies and public organizations conform to the Constitution and law. The NFL deems it indispensable that the LaSSR procurator be appointed by the republic's Supreme Soviet.

6. The NFL favors full realization of glasnost in the life of the state and the life of society. Decrees of state and public bodies affecting the broad masses of people must be adopted publicly, and the general public must be involved in their preparation and discussion. Political, economic, demographic, cartographic, and other information must be published constantly so that the people can objectively evaluate the situation in the republic and authentically take part in governing it.

7. The NFL believes that truly socialist democracy can be guaranteed only by a pluralism of opinions, interests, and organizational forms. All organizations representing broad strata of the population, including the Popular

Front, must be guaranteed the opportunity to use the mass media to express their views. Problems raised through the mass media must be dealt with without delay, and the public must be kept informed of this.

8. There has to be an improvement in the political climate in the republic, attitudes of mistrust, fear, and intimidation must be overcome in the political sphere and other spheres in the life of society. All matters must be dealt with by means of persuasion and discussions in good faith. The NFL opposes the prosecution of people for their political and religious views and all political demagoguery, the smearing of opponents, and name-calling.

### III. Human and Civil Rights

1. The NFL believes that the UN Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, approved by the USSR, must be laid down as the basis of the legal status of the citizen of Latvian SSR. The essence of these documents must be reflected in the LaSSR Constitution.

2. The NFL demands full enforcement of constitutional standards as to the inviolability of the individual and his dwelling, the rights to secrecy of letters and telephone conversations, along with the guarantee of other constitutional rights. It is indispensable to improve legislation on the detention of citizens, since in practice this legislation is being used to influence people unlawfully. Protection of the honor and dignity of citizens needs to be strengthened and greater accountability instituted for insulting an individual.

Citizens must be extended the right to appeal in court unlawful decisions of the collegial bodies of the state.

3. The NFL takes the position that every citizen should be able in any institution of the state to familiarize himself with the information collected concerning himself and the opportunity to dispute the authenticity of that information through judicial proceedings.

4. The NFL demands that the mass deportations in the period 1941-1949 be declared crimes against humanity and that the names of those directly responsible and those who actively carried out these and other repressions of Stalinism be made public. All legal restrictions which still extend to the victims of repression and also privileges for those guilty of repression should be abolished. The NFL deems it indispensable that the competent authorities review the cases of all persons convicted of political and religious activity from the sixties through the eighties.

5. The NFL deems it indispensable that all citizens of Latvian SSR convicted by a court serve their sentence in their own republic and that convicted persons from other republics not be allowed to be imported into Latvian SSR or relocated into Latvian SSR after they have served their sentence.

6. The NFL favors free contact of the republic's citizens with the citizens of other states. Restrictions on exits and reentry to the homeland must be restrictions spelled out in the law.

Rejection of an application for a passport to travel abroad should be subject to an appeal in the courts. The NFL considers unfounded the restrictions on movement of foreign nationals, which encompass almost the entire territory of the republic.

7. The NFL proposes restoration of the right of the republic recognized by the previous LaSSR Constitution to a territorial military formation in which citizens of Latvian SSR could do their mandatory military service regardless of their nationality.

8. In defending the most important human right—the right to life, the NFL will fight for peace and supports the proclamation of the Baltic and Scandinavian Regions a nuclear-free zone.

#### IV. Ethics

1. The NFL considers the moral and ethical recovery of society and of every person individually an important component of restructuring. A standard of morality must be shaped that would be based on freedom of the individual, mutual tolerance, respect for the individual, and honesty, justice, compassion, and mercy.

2. The NFL advocates the primacy of general human values and a policy which regards the individual and the people not as a means, but exclusively as an end.

3. The NFL deems it particularly indispensable to revive the high ethical attitude toward work, judging a job well-done and conscientious work to be the principal sources of good in society.

4. The NFL is in favor of the community giving unselfish assistance to those in greatest need of it—children, the elderly, disabled persons, and the sick.

5. The NFL recognizes the role of religious organizations in the moral renewal of society and in the reinforcement of human values. In the process of shaping a socialist state based on law it will be important to define and guarantee the legal status of citizens who are religious and of religious organizations. The NFL calls for giving up the mandatory study of atheism in the public educational system and for extending the possibility of studying both atheism and religion as electives.

#### V. Culture

1. The NFL takes the basic position that every man is entitled to study culture and to express himself in it according to his own views—insofar as they do not contradict general humanistic and democratic principles and values. In this context the NFL repudiates the oversimplified division of culture into progressive and reactionary and calls for tolerance as the basic principle with respect to differing phenomena in the field of culture.

2. A multinational society must place great emphasis on respect for the individual's ethnic sentiments, for his native language and national customs, and also on a mutual effort to overcome the difficulties of mutual understanding brought about by the difference in cultures. The NFL is in favor of protecting and respecting national customs, cultures, and languages of all citizens of Latvian SSR regardless of the nationality to which they belong. In this connection the NFL insists on the right of the republic's indigenous nationality to preserve in its own ethnogeographic area the way of life and culture which have been formed through history, to safeguard the existence of its own nationality, language, and national identity. In this connection the NFL considers the mechanical merging of nationalities to be a process that contributes to the degradation of cultures.

3. The NFL takes the position that all issues related to the culture of Latvia should remain in the jurisdiction of the republic, demands independence in establishment of the relations of Latvian SSR with foreign countries in the fields of culture, science, education, athletics, and so on, and favors decentralization of the republic's cultural life. The NFL believes that every socioeconomic measure must be planned so as to take into account the consequences of its impact.

4. The NFL recognizes the right of inhabitants of Latvian SSR of any nationality to unrestricted communication with fellow countrymen living in other republics and abroad and promotes the development of these ties, including involvement of fellow countrymen in a unified cultural process through the channels of both public institutions and also those of the government.

The NFL proposes juridical creation of the possibility for persons living abroad and also foreign organizations to take part in the effort to preserve and restore Latvia's cultural legacy.

5. The NFL calls for the spirit of provincialism in the republic's cultural life to be combated, and is against the most recent phenomena of world culture becoming known in Latvia after a lengthy delay. The NFL believes that the community must have broad access to the treasures of all ages of humanity in every field of the arts. The NFL considers it necessary to publish an informative periodical bulletin on the culture of Latvia in English, German, and French.

6. The NFL promotes the aspiration of ethnic groups living permanently in Latvian SSR to cultural autonomy within which it would be possible to receive education in their native language, to establish societies, to exchange information, and to develop a culture that would serve the interests of all.

7. The NFL believes that the community must be afforded the possibility of assimilating everything created in the remote or recent past and that is valuable in Latvia's cultural legacy.

The NFL calls for the study, preservation, and popularization of the culture of the Latgals and Livs, and it also demands rehabilitation of the cultural and scientific legacy of the Baltic Germans. The NFL is in favor of returning to the peoples living on the territory of Latvian SSR, insofar as it is possible, those cultural edifices which belonged to them before 1940.

8. The NFL calls for respect to be paid to folk customs and traditions, rituals and rules of observance of calendar dates commemorated by nationalities, religious holidays, religious art, burial customs, and monuments, which is a noble attitude toward the memory of a people and a mark of respect for the national-ethnic and religious symbolism reflecting the consciousness of nationalities. The NFL favors the study of the elements of ethnic culture in schools of every kind.

9. The NFL considers it necessary to inform the public more broadly, which would require creating staff positions for permanent correspondents of the Latvian press and radio in foreign centers of political and cultural life. The NFL favors the ongoing study of all the processes of the material and spiritual life of the republic and their reflection in the consciousness of the community.

10. The NFL disagrees strongly with the incompetent and bureaucratic management of culture, with the primitive conception of the tasks of culture as an ideology, and also with the financing of culture on the residual principle. The NFL opposes the commercialization of culture and its subordination to the principles of the market.

11. The NFL calls for radical improvement of the training of personnel in all specialties necessary in the field of culture. The NFL calls for supplemental financing and greater prestige for those sciences in the field of the humanities which are engaged in the study of Latvia and the Lettish people and which are indispensable to the growth of the nationality's spiritual potential and self-consciousness.

12. The NFL favors independence of the public educational system of Latvian SSR and improvement of its progressive traditions. The NFL supports radical reform of public education. The NFL is in favor of academic subjects being taught in the public education system of

Latvian SSR according to a single syllabus drafted in the republic and also according to exactly the same time schedule, regardless of the language in which they are taught.

The NFL calls for giving up military training in secondary schools, for exemption of university students from the draft, and for reforming military training in higher educational institutions.

13. The NFL calls for preservation of the know-how of the people in creating the ambient of everyday life and craft culture, and it also proposes creation of the LaSSR Institute of the Ethnic Environment. Industrial design must be recognized as an equal component of industrial production, and the role of architecture in humanizing the spatial environment should be enhanced.

#### **VI. Social Justice and Humanization of the Social Environment**

1. The NFL defends the right of every citizen of Latvian SSR to realize his abilities to the maximum in the sphere of activity he has chosen and to receive appropriate payment for the volume and quality of work he does. The leveling in the payment of work that has become deep-rooted in the past has to be eradicated.

2. The NFL demands that all inhabitants of the republic be guaranteed a decent minimum of subsistence adjusted for the higher cost of living. The primacy of satisfying man's needs in a socialist society needs to be proven not by declaration, but by practical activity.

3. The NFL categorically opposes the existence of a caste of people in the party nomenklatura. The NFL believes that any privileges in the distribution of material goods, in the sphere of social services, especially health care, in the field of recreation, and also social security, are incompatible with human morality in general and the basic principles of socialism.

4. The NFL puts forward the task of achieving social justice in development of all Latvia's regions with respect to satisfaction of social and cultural needs and distribution of foodstuffs. Riga's privileged position, which has come about at the expense of the republic's other regions, should be abolished.

5. The NFL considers normalization of the demographic situation to be one of the main tasks in solving social problems and resolving the nationality question. An effective system of juridical and economic measures should be created to guarantee radical restriction and then cessation of the mechanical influx of population. Measures should be taken urgently and without delay to provide the republic's indigenous population comfortable and well-equipped apartments, kindergartens, and other services in the social infrastructure.

6. The NFL believes that in the years of Stalinism and the stagnation the family was brought to a state of crisis, and it is therefore necessary to urgently enhance its role in society, placing the upbringing of children in the family on a par with any other paid labor, to strengthen the rights of the mother, and to create for the woman the possibility of full-fledged performance of the role of the mother in the family.

7. The NFL considers the measures being taken to combat alcoholism ineffective, superficial, and degrading to human dignity. The campaign against alcoholism and also drug addiction, addiction to toxic substances, and prostitution must be organically bound up with the solving of all social and economic problems, to which end a long-range and scientifically sound program needs to be drafted and carried out.

8. The NFL considers that a man's qualification for the position he occupies should be determined not by whether he belongs to the party or is in the party personnel pool, not on the basis of social or ethnic origin, nor on the basis of personal contacts, but exclusively according to the person's abilities and the results of his practical activity.

9. The NFL favors a sharp increase in the social status of education, the scientific disciplines, and especially the humanities. There is a need to promote the material and moral support for this process, to oppose discrimination against the intelligentsia in various spheres of economic and social life.

10. The NFL considers it indispensable to combat outdated social doctrines, to see that the planning of social development is based on objective scientific principles.

## VII. The Economy

1. The NFL believes that the economy must be an instrument in performing social tasks, that thorough humanization of the economy is indispensable, that it must be subordinated to the needs of the entire people and each individual in particular, and that the ideological and theoretical foundations of economic activity are in need of radical transformation.

2. The NFL supports the course aimed at implementing a major economic reform in the republic, which would eradicate all the factors and mechanisms holding back economic development and also voluntarism, departmental monopolism, unwarranted rulemaking to govern cooperative labor and self-employment, etc. The NFL opposes the efforts of the departmental bureaucratic apparatus to postpone implementation of the economic reform and to distort its revolutionary essence.

3. The NFL is campaigning vigorously for the republic's economic sovereignty, that is, for full independence in the management and development of production and in

distribution of the products produced. The role of soviets of people's deputies needs to be enhanced in management of the economy and in preservation and development of the social infrastructure and natural conservation. An effective system of charges and taxes might serve those ends by placing at the disposition of local soviets a portion of the deductions from the profit of enterprises and also charges paid by enterprises for use of natural and labor resources.

4. The NFL favors independence of Latvian SSR in maintaining both interrepublic and also external economic relations. These relations must be based on equivalent value of the goods exchanged, jobs performed, or services rendered.

5. The NFL favors radical and consistent restructuring of the system of management of the economy, with full transfer to enterprises of the functions of organizing and managing their own economic activity, which they must perform in conformity with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association). The NFL considers it indispensable to improve this law in keeping with the republic's distinctive features. The drafting of a unified economic and scientific-technical policy must remain exclusively in the competence of government departments.

With a view to implementing the principles for management of the republic's economy which have been enumerated above, the NFL believes this purpose would be served if enterprises under union jurisdiction were transferred to republic jurisdiction.

6. The NFL believes that the structure of the productive forces must be in line with the republic's real capabilities and needs. Should it be necessary, provision should be made for reorienting or even shutting down certain enterprises.

The NFL is for the economic development of Latvian SSR to be based exclusively on local productive forces. The first thing that needs to be done in the republic in this connection is to reduce the unjustifiably large and economically inefficient number of job positions, which quite often are vacant.

7. The NFL believes that cooperative activity and self-employment should be developed further in the sphere of production and services in the republic. The NFL supports a variety of forms of ownership and also restoration of diverse forms and structures of economic activity, including those traditional in Latvia.

8. The NFL supports the recognition of agriculture as a principal sector of the economy and favors the consistent pursuit of this course. It is indispensable that farms be freed of bureaucratic rulemaking and the issuing of orders. Invigoration of the activity of cooperators and lessees in the republic's agriculture must be reinforced with a long-term economic and juridical base (the leasing of land for a term of 99 years with guaranteed right of

inheritance). The NFL supports an indigenous pattern of farming such as the khutor and favors its inclusion in the general system of economic activity.

9. The NFL demands prior and comprehensive discussion in newspapers and magazines and over radio and television of all economic programs and projects of public importance which are being designed. The main condition for the beginning of any economic activity must be the safeguarding of ecological balance. In the case of new projects to be built, there must be expert evaluation of the design, and that evaluation must ascertain to what degree the project being designed influences the ethnic composition and existing way of life of the population of the locality in question. All economic and construction programs must be approved by the respective soviets of people's deputies.

10. The NFL believes that the main idea and goal of economic development must be the full satisfaction of the republic's internal needs, above all supplying food and consumer goods to the population.

### VIII. Ecology

1. The NFL considers restoration of a healthy environment to be an important direction on behalf of preserving the people's moral and physical health. This requires development of scientific research and a specific activity aimed at a comprehensive solution of ecological problems in cooperation with other republics and countries of the Baltic Basin. The general ecological sophistication of the population and of industry needs to be enhanced. Expert ecological evaluation must be conducted in the predesign stage of the planning of every project.

2. The NFL is in favor of prohibiting the construction, expansion, or operation of any economic facility unless it has been equipped with the necessary treatment installations.

The NFL considers it indispensable to institute effective financial penalties against those guilty of polluting the environment, including penalties to be paid from personal resources. Effective monitoring of the discharge and disposal of industrial waste must also be set up and data published regularly on pollution of the environment and those directly responsible. The economy must be oriented toward ecologically safe production and the use of relatively harmless sources of energy, including wind energy and the hydro resources of small rivers. There must be strict monitoring of the importation into the republic of substances harmful to health (toxic compounds, fertilizers, radioactive substances, etc.) and also of their movement in transit. The NFL is in favor of the ecological harmlessness of agricultural production, ecologically sound and efficient use of timber resources, and revival of the former protected natural zones in Latvia and creation of new ones. The situation should be

brought about where the mandatory measures to restore the biosphere to ecological health will also extend to areas under the jurisdiction of army and border chasti.

3. The NFL favors the location of industrial, residential, and recreational zones according to Latvia's geographic environment, optimum land use in agriculture so as to take into account the regional relief, climatic characteristics, and soil types, and also the conformity of reclamation structures and communications to the geographic and cultural and historical pattern. The NFL believes that when land is used to extract minerals or for construction of fuel and power facilities, subsequent recultivation of the environment should be mandatory.

4. The NFL favors revival of a civilized landscape in the republic's environment and also the need for an administrative-territorial reform reflecting geographic, historical, and ethnopsychological realities.

### IX. The Nationality Question

1. The NFL believes it indispensable to thoroughly reevaluate nationality policy, which has been based mainly on Stalinist dogmas and doctrines. In the years of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism, when the sovereignty of various national formations was flagrantly violated, when entire nationalities were resettled from their native territories and their national statehood was eliminated, when numerous campaigns were conducted against what was called cosmopolitanism, bourgeois nationalism, and Zionism, an autocratic and anti-Leninist nationality policy resulted in serious deformations and conflicts in interethnic relations, the decline of the small nationalities, a narrowing of language functions, and a sharp reduction of the ethnodemographic potential of certain nationalities (the Letts, the Estonians, and others), and development of national cultures was held back.

2. The NFL believes that nationality questions must be resolved so as to take into account the democratic rights of all nationalities living on the territory of Latvian SSR and on the principle of social justice. The NFL is taking an active part in protecting the ethnic interests of nationalities living in Latvia, their languages, culture, education, and religious consciousness, and it categorically repudiates the provocation of ethnic discord and the insulting and humiliation of the ethnic dignity of any citizen of Latvian SSR. Protection of native language and native culture must become a sacred duty of every citizen of the republic regardless of the nationality to which he belongs.

3. It is a premise of the NFL that the Lettish people has the status of the indigenous nationality in the republic. Latvian SSR is the historical area of the Lettish people, the only place in the world where the Lettish nation, Lettish language, and Lettish culture can be preserved and can develop. Successful resolution of the nationality question is closely bound up with the future destiny of the Lettish people.

4. The NFL demands that the Constitution of Latvian SSR reinforce the status of the Lettish language as the official language on the territory of Latvian SSR and of the Russian language as the language of interethnic communication and that rules be drafted to govern the official use of language. The NFL favors preservation of the function of the Lettish language in a bilingual context and its ability to serve all spheres of life, including business correspondence, science, education, and the republic's political and economic life. As greater knowledge of the Lettish language is gained and mutual bilingualism is actually achieved, the Lettish language must also become the language for interethnic community for the republic's inhabitants.

5. The NFL categorically opposes the extensive policy of economic activity and also the excessive industrialization, which have resulted in disharmony in the economic structure, and ecological crisis, and deformations in ethnic relations. The NFL favors strict monitoring of all processes related to migration. Spontaneous and uncontrolled migration has been inflicting irreversible harm on both the Lettish and also non-Lettish population which has long lived on the territory of Latvia (Russians, Jews, Belorussians, etc.), and on their culture, language, and well-being. Because of uncontrolled migration the Lettish people for the first time in the entire history of its existence is becoming an ethnic minority in its own ethnogeographic area, and its future existence is seriously threatened.

The NFL repudiates coercive measures aimed at mechanical unification of representatives of different nationalities, for example, in mixed schools and mixed kindergartens.

6. In the interests of improving ethnic relations the NFL considers it indispensable to study the causes of the deformations of ethnic relations and ethnic conflicts, to gain a conception of the history of the deportations in the 20th century on the territory of the USSR, to open to public scrutiny the crimes of Stalinist despotism against the Lettish people and other nationalities. The NFL demands immediate review of the decree of the July (1959) Plenum of the Latvian CP Central Committee and the related events. A complete study should be made of the history of Lettish colonies in Russia and the USSR in the framework of the history of Latvia and also of the history of Lettish emigration and the life of Latvians abroad.

7. The NFL calls upon all inhabitants of the republic, regardless of their nationality, to rally in the fight against bureaucracy and the consequences of Stalinism and authoritarianism, to take an active part in discussing the political, historical, social, economic, and ecological issues in both the Lettish and Russian languages. The NFL considers publications which defame or insult the

national self-consciousness or self-respect of nationalities, which distort the history of Latvia and enflame interethnic discord to be incompatible with the process of restructuring and democratization.

We request that opinions, corrections, and supplements to the published draft be submitted to the authorized representatives of each respective region or sent to the address: "Program," Ulitsa Kr. Barona 2, Riga.

### **Latvian Popular Front Draft Charter**

18200022 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in  
Russian 9 Sep 88 p 2

#### **[Text] 1. General Provisions**

1. The Popular Front of Latvia (NFL) is a mass sociopolitical organization of the republic, which has come about as the result of the political activity of the people; it energetically supports and takes part in the radical restructuring of our society consistent with the principles of the resolutions of the 27th CPCU Congress and 19th party conference.

2. The NFL operates within the limits of the Constitution and laws of Latvian SSR and in conformity with the NFL Program and NFL Charter.

3. The NFL conducts its activity with democratic and constitutionally recognized methods and fully observes the principle of glasnost. The NFL categorically rejects any discrimination, preaching of enmity, and use of violence.

4. The NFL considers the purpose of its activity to be construction of authentic popular government, a state based on law, economic prosperity and a flourishing of the culture of Latvia, and settlement of nationality problems.

5. The principal tasks of the NFL are to achieve the following:

- broad democratization of the republic's government life and development and reinforcement of glasnost;
- achievement of the republic's full sovereignty;
- developing and guaranteeing human and civil rights;
- the moral and ethical renewal of society;
- the preservation and augmentation of the riches of the Latvian culture and other cultures of the nationalities living in the republic;
- the prosperity of the people and satisfaction of its material and spiritual needs;
- the economic independence of Latvia and fair distribution of its national income, along with harmonious economic development;
- radical ecological restoration of a healthy environment;
- stabilization of the demographic situation and a sharp reduction of immigration;

- equal and businesslike cooperation among all the nationalities of the republic combined with simultaneous guarantees of the preservation and development of the indigenous nationality.

## 2. Basic Forms of the NFL's Activity

6. The NFL performs its activity to implement the objectives and perform the tasks outlined through various forms, specifically as follows:

- it takes part in the processes of restructuring, in organizing economic and cultural measures and initiatives, promoting them and organizing their support by the popular masses;
- it summarizes, drafts, and submits to government bodies proposals arising out of the NFL Program;
- it submits to local soviets of people's deputies draft versions of decisions on various matters of local importance;
- it discusses the published drafts of laws and other enactments and expresses its opinion of them;
- on the basis of legislative initiatives it submits to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet proposals for adoption of new pieces of legislation and also for amendment or repeal of existing legislation;
- it takes part in the election campaign, nominates candidates for deputy, takes part in discussion and evaluation of the programs of their activity, works out instructions to be given to deputies, and advances its own representatives for election commissions;
- it provides the people's deputies every kind of support, informing them about the opinion of the NFL and submitting to them the conclusions of experts on matters being discussed in the soviets, and it organizes meetings or other types of contacts between the deputies and their constituents;
- it takes part in elections of the managers of enterprises and institutions, workers' councils, and other elected bodies, and it nominates its own candidates for those positions;
- it raises the issue of recalling deputies or other elected persons who have not justified the confidence of their constituents;
- it organizes rallies, demonstrations, public events, and other actions, and it takes part in them, expressing the opinion of the NFL;
- it advances proposals for conducting popular discussion or holding a referendum;
- it organizes surveys of public opinion;
- within the limits of socialist pluralism it organizes an exchange of opinions, debates, colloquiums, conferences, and commissions of experts on matters of interest to broad strata of the community;
- it organizes lectures and less formal talks.

7. The NFL collaborates closely with soviets of people's deputies and also with other government institutions and public organizations in dealing with matters envisaged by the NFL Program and NFL Charter.

8. In performing the tasks outlined by the program and charter, the NFL collaborates closely with informal associations and conducts joint actions and other measures.

9. The NFL promotes in every way the work of people's control, promoting its effectiveness, and if necessary it takes part in its measures.

10. The NFL regularly submits to the press and other news media articles and reports on its activity, on cases discovered of bureaucracy, arbitrariness, lawlessness, and mismanagement, and it helps to correct them.

11. The NFL prepares for publication and publishes informative materials and other publications on matters related to the organization and activity of the NFL.

12. The NFL collaborates with other organizations and movements with related goals and tasks in the other republics and regions of the USSR and also abroad.

## 3. Participants in the NFL

13. Any citizen of Latvian SSR who has reached the age of 16 may become a participant in the NFL regardless of nationality, social status, membership in other organizations, or other circumstances if he recognizes the NFL Program and NFL Charter and by his vigorous activity, his own initiatives, and proposals supports and promotes achievement of the goals and performance of the tasks of the NFL. Young people who have reached age 14 may take part in all measures of the NFL without the right to vote.

14. Citizens who wish to become participants in the NFL join together and enroll in NFL groups. Enrollment in the NFL takes place by a simple majority vote.

15. Participants in the NFL prove by their personal behavior and effort that they are in line with the goals, tasks, and basic principles of the activity of the NFL.

16. The participant in the NFL has the right:

- to express his views;
- to advance proposals;
- to discuss questions which have been raised, to take part in all measures conducted by the NFL; participation in measures is voluntary;
- to take part in elections and to be elected to the bodies of the NFL.

17. The participant in the NFL fills out a standard participant's form and voluntarily pays a contribution between 20 kopecks and 1 ruble a month. Half of the amount collected remains at the disposition of groups and branches, the other half is sent to the NFL Board. The conference of the branch determines the distribution of resources among groups and branches.

18. The participant in the NFL has the right to freely withdraw from the NFL by so informing the group representative.

19. The participant in the NFL may be expelled from the NFL by decision of the group if he flagrantly violates the charter or disgraces the title of participant in the NFL. This decision may be appealed to the higher level of the NFL. Members of the assembly may be expelled only by decision of the assembly.

#### 4. Organizational Structure of the NFL

20. Participants in the NFL working in the same place, living in the same locality, or with other general connections come together to form groups. The group must number at least three persons. Newly created groups are registered with the NFL Board, which verifies their conformity with the NFL Program and NFL Charter. The group elects a representative and his deputy (deputies). The authorized representative of the group organizes the group's work and disburses its money resources.

21. In rayons and cities and also at large enterprises and in institutions with more than 200 participants the conference of group representatives and other delegated participants may create a rayon, city (enterprise, institution) branch. The conference elects the representative of the branch, a board, and an audit commission and it approves the branch's budget; should it be necessary, it sets up commissions for the principal lines of activity and defines the powers of the branch representative, the board, and the committees.

The branch representative organizes the branch's work, convenes meetings of the board, represents the branch before government and public institutions, and disburses money resources within the limits of the branch's budget.

22. Informal associations all of whose members recognize the NFL Charter and NFL Program may become affiliated with the NFL with the status of NFL groups or branches.

23. The supreme decision-making body of the NFL is the NFL Congress. It convenes once a year. An extraordinary congress may be convened if demanded by at least one-third of the members of the assembly.

#### The Congress of the NFL:

- adopts the decision to create or to terminate the NFL;
- adopts the NFL Program and NFL Charter and makes amendments in them;
- discusses and decides the most important questions in the activity of the NFL;
- approves the basic lines of the NFL's future activity;
- elects to a 1-year term an assembly, audit commission, and NFL chairman;

- hears reports and evaluates the activity of the chairman, the assembly, and the audit commission of the NFL;
- approves the NFL budget.

The congress adopts decisions by a two-thirds majority of the delegates present.

24. The NFL Assembly works in intervals between congresses, takes up and decides matters in the activity of the NFL, except those placed in the competency of the congress.

#### The NFL Assembly:

- convenes congresses of the NFL and defines the procedure for representation at these congresses;
- elects the board to a 1-year term and also NFL committees for the basic aspects of activity and approves the responsible secretary;
- on behalf of the NFL submits to the Supreme Soviet legislative bills and also submits proposals to other government institutions;
- makes statements on current issues in public life;
- approves the directions in the NFL's housekeeping and its staff.

The assembly is convened on its own initiative; it may also be convened by the board or by the NFL chairman.

The assembly has the right to make decisions if at least two-thirds of its members are taking part in its proceedings. Decisions are made by a two-thirds majority of those present.

25. The board is the body of the NFL that is continually active. It:

- if necessary, convenes meetings of the NFL Assembly and prepares the subject matter for discussion jointly with the committees;
- organizes execution of decisions of the NFL Congress and Assembly;
- provides ongoing leadership of the activity of the NFL;
- organizes working groups, expert commissions, enlisting appropriate specialists;
- disburses the resources of the NFL within the limits of the budget, and designates persons entitled to sign money documents and contracts.

The meetings of the board are valid if at least two-thirds of its members are taking part. Decisions are taken by a two-thirds majority of those present.

The board does not have a permanent chairman; it is chaired in turn by members of the board. Decisions taken by the board are signed by the chairman of the meeting.

26. The chairman of the NFL represents the NFL before government bodies and institutions and also before public organizations. He represents to them the opinion of the NFL based on decisions of the congress or assembly. The chairman has the right to convene meetings of the assembly and board and to take part in them. The NFL chairman signs the decisions taken by the congress and assembly.

One and the same person may not be elected NFL chairman to more than two successive terms.

27. Committees of the NFL Assembly created to work out the main lines of activity of the NFL consist of members of the assembly and also other NFL participants. The committee may enlist specialists and public figures who agree with the NFL Program and support its activity to take part in its work with the right of an advisory vote.

The committees of the assembly:

- jointly with the board draft proposals and draft versions of decisions for meetings of the NFL Assembly and Congress;
- draft work programs;
- prepare legislative bills and drafts of other enactments to be submitted to government bodies and public authorities;
- discuss other current issues of interest to the community and express their opinion on them;
- draft other recommendations of the assembly and board.

28. Elections at all levels of the NFL shall be by secret ballot.

#### 5. Property, Finances, and Staff of the NFL

29. The NFL has its own property and financial resources, which it keeps in bank accounts. These resources consist of the following:

- money contributions of participants,
- voluntary donations,
- income from sale of NFL paraphernalia, NFL publications, and other measures.

30. Funds are spent to support the housekeeping and organizational work (the leasing of space, establishment of communications, wages of staff personnel, etc.).

31. The chairman, the assembly, the board, and the members of the audit commission of the NFL perform their duties on a voluntary basis. The NFL may reimburse their actual expenses related to performance of those duties.

32. The NFL has its own staff personnel hired to perform organizational and technical duties.

33. The audit commission of the NFL and also the audit commissions of its branches monitor the budget and financial activity of branches and groups.

#### 6. Legal Status and Paraphernalia of the NFL

34. The NFL and its branches have the status of juridical persons.

35. The NFL has its own paraphernalia, approved by the congress.

36. The NFL Board and the boards of its branches have their own periodical with its own name.

Opinions, corrections, and supplements should be sent to this address: Ulitsa Kr. Barona 12, Riga.

#### Estonian Ethnic Relations Forum Issues Declarations

**Positions on Ethnic Relations, Cultural Autonomy**  
*18000070 Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in*  
*Russian 27 Sep 88 p 2*

[Unattributed report entitled: "Declaration by the Forum of Estonian Peoples on Ethnic Cultural Relations in Estonia"]

[Text] 1. The goal of the Forum of Estonian Peoples is the democratization of inter-national relations in Estonia, which means defending national identification and restraining the assimilation process.

The Russian, Estonian, Polish and Belorussian delegations wish to use the concept "compulsory or forced assimilation," since assimilation in principle is a neutral ethnological term which reflects the conversion of an individual person or a group of people from one ethnic group to another.

The Forum of Estonian Peoples, on behalf of representatives of ethnic groups, declares that in solving ethnic and cultural problems it proceeds from the need to unite efforts for achieving the economic, social and cultural sovereignty of Estonia as a state possessing equal rights within the structure of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The distinct ethnic nature of each person should enrich the personality and introduce unique features in everyday life. Each ethnic group should respect the others.

The Forum of Estonian Peoples supports V. Vyalyas's report to the Buro, made public at the 11th Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum, which expressed progressive views on democratization and the further development of ethnic relations.

2. The Forum of Estonian Peoples supports the Popular Front's aspirations towards establishing citizenship and declaring Estonian the state language within the territory of the Estonian SSR, for purposes of ensuring the free and sovereign development of the Estonian people in their native land. We also see the main guarantee for the development of each ethnic group in the guarantee for the development of the Estonian nation.

3. The ethnic groups of Estonia, without placing their own ethnic and cultural interests in opposition to the interests of the native nation, set the immediate goal of carrying out the process of democratizing interethnic relations in Estonia within the framework of the political culture of the legitimate state, without wounding each other's dignity and without declaring the supremacy of one culture or the strength of one ethnic group over another. In this regard, the Forum of Estonian Peoples expresses its negative view of the activities of the so-called International Movement leaders.

4. The Forum of Estonian Peoples relates with understanding to the difficult history of the USSR, which has included everything from Russification to the veiled assimilation policy. In supporting the de-Stalinization process and removal of obstacles placed by history from the path to implementing the principles of equal rights for large and small ethnic groups, the Forum calls for relating with attention and patience to the complex stratification processes and the difficulties of revealing the truth, which are occurring within the heterogeneous Russian population of the Estonian SSR.

5. Numerous small groups of other nationalities also reside in Estonia, which are educated in the overwhelming majority in the Russian, and more rarely, in the Estonian language, drawing closer accordingly to either the Russian or the Estonian cultural environment. However, to this day there have been no state or public channels through which these groups would be able to meet their own specific, purely ethnic cultural needs and to develop their own cultural activeness.

6. The Forum of Estonian Peoples believes that the national traditions of all residents of Estonia deserve respect and that, if these residents are interested in preserving and further developing their own ethnic cultural traditions and native language, conditions should be created for this. The experience of cultural autonomy of ethnic minorities in the first years of Soviet power, as well as in the Estonian republic, should be studied in order to develop the cultural life of ethnic groups in Estonia.

The problem of cultural autonomy for ethnic minorities lies in satisfying the cultural and educational needs of non-Estonians, which are being implemented by way of spontaneous volunteer initiatives and enjoy society's broad support, including with regard to material

resources. Both the Estonian, as well as the Russian intelligentsia are called upon, like missionaries, to cooperate with the cultural movements of ethnic groups.

7. The Forum of Peoples expresses the hope that the active cultural activity of all peoples of Estonia will enrich the spiritual life of our society, and will promote better mutual understanding among peoples of different ethnic groups and the formation of a respectful and sensitive attitude toward ethnic needs. Cultural societies and the Union of Ethnic Minorities will promote the preservation of people's spiritual ties to their native land, native language and culture, and will cooperate in developing reciprocal ties between Estonian culture and the cultures of other Soviet nations.

8. The principle of ethnic cultural autonomy is not synonymous with an aspiration to alienate Estonian citizens of different ethnic groups in either the political, labor, or any other social sphere. The purpose of cultural autonomy is to meet the specific ethnic and cultural needs of the entire population of Estonia, which will promote the diversity and enrichment of the republic's cultural life and an improvement in interethnic relations.

9. The Forum of Peoples condemns any manifestation of racism and anti-Semitism.

#### **Declaration by the Forum of Estonian Peoples on Cultural Autonomy**

1. The Forum of Estonian Peoples appeals to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee with a entreaty for the creation of a cultural center for ethnic groups, the basic task of which would be to assist in organizing the independent cultural work of ethnic groups, as a temporary measure on the basis of the House of Political Education. The Estonian SSR would be able to allocate funds to pay for premises and the acquisition of equipment, while at the same time the creative work should be carried out through the efforts of the ethnic groups themselves. This type of center would grant the opportunity:

- For immigrants to obtain information from their native lands;
- To become involved in amateur activity in accordance with ethnic traditions;
- To study their native and Estonian languages;
- To preserve ties to the ethnic and professional culture of their own people;
- To become familiar with the cultural life of other peoples;
- To obtain information about the Estonian culture.

2. The cultural needs of the ethnic minorities of Estonia can also be satisfied through the existing state network (kindergartens, schools, clubs, libraries, etc.), with the attraction of additional volunteer private and cooperative donations.

As a special opinion, the delegation of Estonian Swedes believes it necessary to emphasize the importance of state support in satisfying the cultural needs of ethnic minorities.

3. In order to more fully satisfy the cultural needs of ethnic minorities in Estonia, the board being established for the Popular Front and the ESSR government should appeal to the state institutions and social organizations of the corresponding Union (including the RSFSR) and autonomous republics, as well as of foreign countries, with a request for assistance in making the cultural life of representatives of the corresponding ethnic groups in Estonia more active.

4. The Forum supports the goodwill of the Estonian Cultural Fund in promoting the satisfaction of the cultural needs of ethnic minorities by way of granting premises and monetary resources for conducting activities.

5. The Forum of Estonian Peoples believes that respect for the religious convictions of ethnic minorities is important. The believers themselves should provide the funds for performing religious rituals. The Forum proposes that the ESSR Goskomsport lease the religious premises of the Sailing Center in Pirita to believers of different ethnic minorities for the conduct of worship in accordance with their convictions and customs.

6. The Forum of Estonian Peoples believes that the board of the Estonian Popular Front should address a proposal to the Leningrad Popular Front on cooperation in satisfying the cultural aspirations of the Vepsy and the Izhorsk Finns.

7. The Forum of Estonian Peoples considers it necessary to defend the cultural and autonomous rights of ethnic minorities by way of legislation.

8. The Forum of Estonian Peoples reports its willingness to represent the interests of ethnic groups as an advisory body under the ESSR Supreme Soviet.

9. The Forum of Estonian Peoples turns to the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee with an appeal to develop an Estonian Communist Party platform for the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on the ethnic problem and to submit it for national discussion.

#### **Addendum to Cultural Autonomy Declaration**

18000070 Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 28 Sep 88 p 3

[Unattributed report entitled: "Addendum to the Declaration by the Forum of Estonian Peoples"]

[Text] Due to an error in the work of the editorial committee of the Forum of Estonian Peoples, the incomplete text of the Forum's Declaration "On Cultural Autonomy" was sent to the Estonian Telegraph Agency.

The editorial committee notes that points 6-9 of this declaration should have been points 8-11. Points 6 and 7 of this declaration read as follows:

6. The Forum of Estonian Peoples turns to the ESSR State Committee for Culture and the ESSR State Committee for National Education with a petition to considerably strengthen the defense of cultural interests of those Estonians living within the territory of the USSR outside the borders of the ESSR.

The Forum proposes, in addition to the Estonian Garden which was established in the Georgian SSR, the organization of another cultural center at one of the sites of historical habitation by Estonians (for example, in Siberia).

7. The Forum of Estonian Peoples believes it necessary for the leading bodies and cultural community of the Estonian SSR to consider it a matter of honor for themselves to include Northeast Estonia once more within the Estonian cultural sphere of influence. Right now, the Estonians living there often enjoy only the rights of cultural autonomy, yet these rights have not been properly protected.

#### **Toome Assesses Estonian Political Climate**

18120019 Moscow NEW TIMES in English  
No 39, Sep 88 pp 21-23

[Interview with Indrek Toome, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party, by Yekaterina Kozhukhova; date and place not given]

[Text] NEW TIMES: We often hear today that perestroika is a social revolution. How applicable is this formula to what is taking place in Estonia? What are the distinctive features of the present political climate in the republic?

**Indrek Toome:** The policy of perestroika, as you know, originated at the top. But it released a large and powerful driving force—initiative from below. In our republic, this process was swift. In Estonia people are saying: in 1985 we learned to think boldly, in 1986—to speak boldly, and in 1987-88 came the time for bold action. The first and very significant victory of perestroika is that the voice of the people has got much stronger. That shows that the ideas of perestroika have found both a response and understanding in our republic.

The press was one of the leaders of perestroika. Next came the Cultural Council—a public organization uniting members of all the creative unions. Its investigations and conclusions influenced the adoption of important economic decisions. And many of the points made in the letter sent to the participants in the joint plenum of the boards of the creative unions to the Party leadership and government of Estonia formed the basis for the platform with which the republic's Communist Party delegation went to the 19th Party conference. In the spring of this

year, during the "three weeks of stagnation," the TV programme "Let's think again" acted as organizer of the Popular Front in support of perestroika. And in June at the meeting marking the opening of the 19th Party conference, Popular Front activists assembled 150,000 people out of a total Estonian population of one-and-a-half million.

The issues on which the Cultural Council, Popular Front, Green Movement and many other unofficial groups in Estonia are concentrating their attention are questions of national policy, relations between different nationalities, environmental protection and restrictions on excessive immigration. Speaking of the trends as a whole, it must be admitted that the intellectual forces in Estonia have put forward ideas so revolutionary that they have alarmed, and continue to alarm many people. But I am convinced that the time has come for radical changes, not half-measures. And if there is anything that should alarm Communists today it is the perceptible disparity between the revolutionary ideas put forward by the Party, and the evolutionary approach to their implementation. This disparity leads to a rift between words and action (and sometimes between words), to greater opposition from the different social forces. Because even at the first stage of perestroika everyone interpreted the concept of "changes are imperative" in his own way: supporters of stagnation had their interpretation, progressive politicians theirs. Everyone wanted some sort of change! But now, when from "recognition of the need" we are moving to concrete action, this contradiction between aims and methods is becoming deeper and more acute.

Today it is clear that perestroika, like any social revolution, has to resolve the question of power. The redistribution of power. And as you know from history, there has never been a case when people approached those in power and asked them to relinquish it, and the holders of power gave it up without a word. Power always had to be won. Let's call a spade a spade.

N.T.: But it is not merely a question of replacing certain officials with new ones, albeit more progressive?

I.T.: It is a matter of creating genuine democracy. So if today we want to get anywhere, our first job must be to decentralize power: in politics, in the economy and in culture, so as to give society the opportunity to create freely. Perestroika must restore to all citizens, public organizations and enterprises the right to initiative. Restore the democratic popular essence of the power of the Soviets—that was how the matter was expressed at the 19th Party conference.

#### The Price of Conformism

N.T.: For many long years the thesis "the people and the Party are one" was never doubted. It was beyond criticism. But when perestroika began and the people awakened, it turned out that this was far from being axiomatic, but was rather a theorem that required proving.

Isn't that borne out too by the events of recent months in Estonia? What I have in mind in particular is the period of preparations for the 19th Party conference. On the one hand—as you have noted—the unofficial associations made a significant intellectual contribution to preparing the platform of the Estonian Communist Party's delegation. On the other hand, among delegates to the conference there were people in whom the public had expressed no confidence. I should like to hear your views on this.

I.T.: The elections in our republic were held in the same way as in most cities and republics. Work collectives and the creative unions nominated 600 candidates, and from this number, plenums of district and town Party committees recommended 80. Then the Bureau of the CC CPE chose 32. It's true that it had been suggested that all 80 candidates be discussed. But the plenum rejected this by a majority vote (80 per cent) and voted for a list of 32 candidates.

N.T.: In other words, 80 percent of those participating in the Party plenum voted against the views of the public. But, as it turned out, the grievances voiced by the unofficial associations proved well-founded.

I.T.: I must say that the investigations and proposals drawn up by the informal associations contained no new questions of principle which the CC CPE was not aware of. Everyone was talking about these problems. However, they had not been stated so radically and boldly. It was thought that it was too early, that the time had not yet come to bring them up, as they were too serious and problematic.... And so they were posed by the intellectuals, the public. For this wait-and-see policy, for its conformism, the CC CPE and the government of the republic were justly criticized by the public.

N.T.: Let's be more concrete. What are these issues?

I.T.: This concerns a whole series of problems connected with the work of the central departments and orientated to the extensive and pollution-risky development of the Estonian economy, which have led to excessive and uncontrolled immigration into the republic. It is also about the fact that many paragraphs and articles of the Constitutions of the Union republics remain inoperative, since both the USSR Council of Ministers and the central departments time and again adopted decisions that violate the principles of the sovereignty of the republics set out in the Constitution. Also, there is the bureaucratic diktat that strangled the country in the past decades and has had, as it were, a redoubled effect on the Union republics, since the USSR ministries and departments pursued their own aims and completely disregarded local economic, socio-cultural and ecological interests. On the territory of Estonia, which had an acute labour and raw materials shortage, industries and required a great deal of labour and materials were developed. Hence the uncontrolled immigration, which in turn could not fail to affect the satisfaction of the

socio-cultural requirements of the people and the relations between the different nationalities. As a result of the uncontrolled immigration processes, almost half of the one-and-a-half million strong population of the republic—forty per cent—are non-Estonians (most of the immigrants were invited by industrial enterprises). And in the town they are better supplied (1.5 times better) with comfortable housing than the local residents. That too speaks of the omnipotence of the departments, doesn't it? If one adds to that the USSR departments were far from being concerned about training skilled cadres, improving production, creating favourable conditions for the adaptation of immigrants—studying the culture, language and traditions of Estonia—then you can easily imagine what a hard knot of problems they bestowed on the republic. According to sociologists, 74 per cent of the immigrants don't care where they live. Often they are people who cannot share the anxiety of the basic population for the fate of their culture, their "small homeland."

Now many of these problems are being solved. A general plan for the national economy of the republic has come into force and it restricts departmental arbitrariness, while extending the rights of local bodies of power. The next step will be to switch the republic to cost-accounting, an idea that was recognized as promising at the 19th Party conference. The Institute of Economics of the Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences has set up a special group to develop the concept of regional cost-accounting. And the general public has been drawn into this work. But it is a very difficult job and can't be done at a gallop. However, we can already submit for discussion the first versions of such a concept.

N.T.: You believe that these measures to resolve the problems of the economy will help untie the knot of contradictions between the various nationalities?

I.T.: To a great extent, yes. But of course so far there are not enough such measures. The question of relations between nationalities needs profound revision. A special commission on nationality problems, which I head, has been set up under the CC CPE. Its job is to make a profound study of the contradictions that have accumulated in recent years, get rid of false preconceived notions and the complexes based on them, like the common argument that the development of national culture could hinder the development of internationalism. We proceed from the belief that Soviet culture is a matter of integration and that it is only as strong as the national cultures that make it up. But it also has to be recognized that just as the value of the individual was denigrated during the period of stagnation and the cult, so other moral values in society were devalued, and national sentiments were levelled and denigrated. The existence of national traits were permitted only as something exotic.

Today we have to find effective means to treat the disease of lack of national identity. Despite all the complexity of the task, it is clear that the solution of the

problem does not lie in the artificial merging of nations, as was claimed at one time and by those who sought to unify culture, nor through assimilation, but through mutual enrichment on the basis of language, cultural exchanges and knowledge of each other's history.

For instance, one of the first priorities—and this was decided by the 11th plenum of the CC CPE—is the introduction of a state language in Estonia (it will be the language of the basic nationality), a statute of citizenship of the ESSR, amendments to the Constitution of the ESSR and on this basis the adoption of a law on languages. Each person living in Estonia shall have the right to conduct his affairs in the Estonian or in the Russian language. Knowledge of both languages will be regarded as one of the criteria of the professional suitability of a specialist, especially if he has to work with people.

#### Arguments of International Movement

N.T.: How should one regard the setting up in July of an International Movement in Estonia? As an ideological counterweight to the Popular Front? As a sign of the diversity of the democratic processes which we are observing today and a warning not to engage in euphoria prematurely? Remember how only a short time ago, a couple of days before the opening of the 19th Party conference, the Estonian public welcomed the Popular Front at a meeting attended by thousands. You were one of those who took part. And now another meeting is hearing and discussing the appeal of the International Movement to all citizens of Estonia in which the Popular Front is warned that unless it hastens to give a rebuff to those who seek to fan national differences in the republic, the International Movement will do so....

I.T.: At the meeting of the International Movement on July 19, in the numerous—and so different—speeches the following idea was voiced: "It is not the Russians who are giving no peace to the Estonians nor the Estonians who are giving no peace to the Russians in Kohtla-Järve, Narva, Maardu, Sillamae.... It is the administrative-bureaucratic system that is installing harmful production techniques with complete disregard for the health of the people, no matter what their nationality." But the prevailing theme of supporters of the International Movement was the need to give equal rights to all nationalities living in Estonia. You will agree that sounds very nice. No one rejects that idea (the narrow-minded don't count!). However, the International Movement does not recognize that priority should be given to the development of Estonian culture, the language of the Estonian people on its primordial homeland. That can cause nothing but anger and hurt. The International Movement is right in those cases when priorities are demanded only for Estonians because of their nationality. That indeed is not humane. But it is equally inhumane and undemocratic to refuse the priority development of, I repeat, the Estonian people and their culture. What would help resolve many difficult

problems we have inherited from the times of stagnation and the cult would be wider constitutional rights for territories, real sovereignty for the republics, the development of federalism in the sense in which Lenin understood it (greater rights for local bodies of power in the economic and social spheres, in the development of culture and decentralization of power)—everything that was spoken of at the 19th Party conference and the 11th plenum of the CC CPE. The contradictions between nationalities can be overcome. The very difficult situations that arise at present on these grounds are not a *cul de sac*. There are ways out. But only through democratic solutions of problems, on the basis of the ethical principle of profound mutual respect and mutual understanding between people. No mistake, whether belonging to long past history or made only yesterday, should be allowed to serve as a pretext for national insults—that is something we always have to remember. And if somebody does that or even an entire public movement is guilty of it, under no circumstances should one reply in kind.

#### **“Shepherds” and “Flock”**

N.T.: I should like to go back to what has been said about the Party's authority. To what extent do its bodies today control the socio-political situation in the republic, and to what extent can they influence the orientation of the new democratic structures? How much was said in the past about the “low political awareness of the population,” who are therefore in need of wise shepherds, but it turned out that it was not the “flock” who lacked political awareness, otherwise why is it that so often it is the Party propagandists who can't stand up to their opponents at spontaneous meetings or discussions?

I.T.: I quite agree that on the whole in the present day public movement (it has its scum—but that's not what we are taking about) there exists a sufficiently high level of understanding and responsibility for the common cause. We have to do a colossal job among Party members in order to restore the Party's vanguard role, in order that it be represented by wise, intelligent people capable of keeping their finger on the pulse of society, all its sections and layers, capable of analyzing the processes at work in it, being the brains behind all these processes, drawing up the strategy and tactics for their development, in other words, hearing, understanding and putting into practice what the people have become conscious of, as Lenin put it. To carry out in practice, not words, the wishes of the people.

I am confident that the 11th plenum of the CC CPE can be regarded as the beginning of this colossal job. Preparations for it were made very carefully: the times required that answers be given to many extremely important questions for the republic. The ideological situation on the eve of the plenum was acute, and what was needed was a realistic approach, responsibility in assessing public phenomena. The plenum lasted two days, there was a business-like constructive discussion, different views

were expressed on the existing situation, and different ways out of it were proposed. There were controversial topics. And people argued—they argued, but all views were listened to and taken into account. The response on the next day indicated that in its significance for the republic the plenum could justly stand comparison with the 19th Party conference. I must admit that the support given to the programme of action proposed by the plenum makes us happy. At the same time we realize that no little effort and time will be required to return, this time by deeds, the lost confidence of the people. One wrong step is enough to lose one's authority. But to win it back is some job. But we have no alternative.

N.T.: What, in your opinion, should in future be chosen as the instrument for influencing the public and public processes?

I.T.: Only the mechanism of a law-governed state, which rules out the possibility of the abuse of power, the usurpation of power. For what we have had until now? The force of power assumed the right to appoint a Communist to one post or another, even though he was poorly prepared and had no authority with the public, but satisfied superior officials or bodies by his CV. Now, when each one of us is being asked to display not imaginary but real merits, knowledge and ability, we have been compelled to admit the weakness of many Party cadres. They are afraid to talk to them. They are accustomed to getting away from generalizations and the cast-iron formulas of poorly learnt and greatly cut-down Marxism. Yet until recently none of this stood in their way. Such people were automatically given power and the authority of their position. The right to leadership should not automatically follow from Party membership—the failure to abide by this principle has done too much harm to the people and the state. Today this is the question of questions.

N. T.: But how does one stand up to this syndrome of mistrust, this back-sliding into administrative command methods in internal Party life and other spheres? At the beginning of this interview you yourself said that history knows of no instance when those in power have given up their prerogatives of their own free will.

I.T.: We must move more determinedly and radically towards the setting up of a law-governed state. Concrete measures are needed, many instructions have to be cancelled, and changes and amendments have to be made to the Constitution, to the Party Rules, as was said at the 19th Party conference. The conditions should be removed which make it possible for Party functionaries in the executive apparatus of the Soviets to stand above the electorate.

For a long time we believed that all our troubles stemmed from the fact that we say too little, that all our shortcomings are those of education, that we should talk more, talk better, send good lecturers and Party workers to talk to audiences and then everything will be all right.

No. Experience has shown that we have to get down to finding the root causes of our troubles. And when we've found them, see that conditions have to be changed. But conditions can't be changed by explanations and elucidations. Radical measures are needed. The entire electoral system has to be democratized. The strength of Soviet power, that is, people's power, depends on this. What kind of people will head the bodies of power? Will they have the support of the people or will they become mere ritual names on the edifice of socialist democracy? A new socio-political situation will already give the opportunity to operate democratically.

N.T.: But how do we go about "changing the conditions"? What should be done first—should we first amend the Constitution and the Party Rules, or make changes in the system of our representative bodies, which will decide the fate of these and other changes? Or do you think it doesn't matter?

I.T.: I think it extremely important and opportune. In my opinion, these problems should be solved simultaneously, which is far from being a palliative. For the minds of the people have been awoken and you can't stop them thinking more deeply and broadly. And society, its state and political systems, cannot, must not allow the gulf between ideas and actions, between the revolutionary posing of a question and evolutionary methods, to expand—efforts must be made to eliminate the disparity mentioned at the beginning. But at the same time we must seek to renovate the apparatus of power, to ensure that the problems really are resolved by new people, with new outlooks, new understanding, new criteria. That, in my opinion, is the only way we can advance along the revolutionary course that we call perestroika.

#### Readers' Letters on Russian-Lithuanian Nationality Relations

18000101 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
4 Oct 88 p 3

[Collection of readers' letters under the rubric "Readers Conduct the Discussion": "The Problem of Internationality Relations: At the Crossroads of Opinion"; first paragraph is unattributed source introduction]

[Text] There is no need to say how much certain problems of relations among the representatives of various nationalities living in Lithuania have become exacerbated in the heat of debate. Most likely those offenses and misunderstandings that had accumulated for a long time had to manifest themselves sooner or later in order to become a basis for cleansing and improving the soil on which we all together, side by side and on an equal footing, should develop the revolutionary transformations to which restructuring has opened the way. Today we are publishing a selection of letters, sometimes polar opposites and sometimes, probably, not fair in every respect. But we want for our readers to think about them, look into the inmost recesses of their hearts, and

try to understand that they were all dictated by a sincere feeling—to reveal the truth. The main thing is that these letters were written out of good motives.

#### What Do They Want of Us?

"They" are Lithuanians in general and, in particular, participants in the Movement for Restructuring.

"We" are Russians, in general, and Russians living in Snechkus and working at the Ignalina Atomic Power Station, in particular.

Without pretending to the absolute truth, I want to express my own opinion about the problems of Lithuanian "nationalism" and Russian "internationalism" in the city of Snechkus and at the Ignalina Atomic Power Station.

In my view, what some people call "nationalism" (if it is not confused with national extremism) is the natural outlook of any relatively small people living under the conditions of being a close neighbor with other large and small peoples, a kind of immunity protecting the originality of the people's culture and language and guarding it against assimilation and dispersion in other peoples.

In this respect, the conditions of existence of a large people are entirely different. The representatives of such a people, living hundreds and thousands of kilometers away from the closest borders, do not have to daily encounter other peoples and daily defend their right to originality, their culture and their language. Under these conditions (wherever you look, your own people are everywhere), a sense of national exclusiveness—chauvinism—is spontaneously instilled. Under these conditions, it is also easy to be an internationalist (an abstract love for those who are remote does not require any great expenditure of psychic energy). Our Russian, spontaneous internationalism in many respects leads to a situation in which we forbid no one (whether he be a Georgian, a Lithuanian, or an American) to become a Russian, and also to a situation in which we love those who love us and do not love whoever does not love us. In one of his last notes, "On the Question of Nationalities, or of Becoming Autonomous," V. I. Lenin wrote: "It is necessary to distinguish...between the nationalism of a large nation and the nationalism of a small one. With regard to the latter nationalism, in historical practice we nationals of a large nation have almost always found ourselves guilty of an endless amount of violence and even more than that—have unwittingly committed an endless amount of violence and offense."

And here several thousand such "spontaneous chauvinist-internationalists" come to Lithuania and build a Russian city and atomic power plant. They come with their central-Russian mentality and start demanding that they be loved and "do not forbid" themselves to speak Russian among themselves. I am far from blaming these Russians of anything. Like the Lithuanians to whose

land they have come, they are victims, of a sort, of the era of the "harmony of internationality relations" and the "resolved nationality question." This is our common "cross," and we must bear it together.

Among the goals declared by the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring—glasnost, democracy and sovereignty—I think that sovereignty is really the main one, and glasnost and democracy are only means to attain it. And the problem of the Ignalina Atomic Power Station is a problem not so much of an atomic power plant in Lithuania as the problem of a Russian city and Russian atomic power plant on Lithuanian soil. Therefore, attempting to solve it merely by demonstrating the safety of the plant and the republic's need for electric power means dealing not with the essence of the phenomenon but with manifestations of that essence. For the true goals of any given movement may be extremely far from the slogans it puts forward.

Where, then, are the ways to solve the problems that have been raised? What should we who live in Snechkkus and work at the power plant do? What should all Russians do in order to preserve and strengthen the union of peoples under the new conditions? At the risk of "inventing the bicycle," I will say the following: in order to strengthen the fraternity of peoples, it is necessary for us to abandon the role of "big brother-benefactor" and become an equal brother. And for those of us living here in Lithuania to replace their Russian internationalist chauvinism with a Russian "nationalism"—in actuality, with patriotism in the good sense of the word. And to move, finally, from the display of mutual distrust to a search for ways for a truly equal cooperation.

M. DANCHENKO,

Senior engineer, research department

Ignalina Atomic Power Station.

#### As You Would Have Them Do Unto You

I know Russians very well, because my life to this day has been bound up with the people of Russia. I lived for 14 years in Russia. What cordial, honest people there are there is just remarkable!

For 15 years my life was bound up with work in the Sevnenergostroy Trust, which is in Leningrad, and that was the best period of my life. When I visit that city it is like going home, and whether it be the trust director, a department chief, or any of the employees—everyone always greets me with an open smile and calls to me: "Algis, come spend the night at my place." Leningraders are People with a capital letter. I know everything about my fellow workers: their joys and cares, and their family affairs. And they know everything about me. And today, when we phone one another, the first question is how are the children, the family, grandmother.

Now I have been working for the last eight years in the complete-sets supply department, and I travel the Soviet Union to Baikal, throughout Central Russia. I have never encountered anyone like some Russians in Lithuania, who consider themselves a head higher and say: "We liberated you, gave you freedom, culture and all other benefits."

Yet the Lithuanians themselves were not even the original inhabitants. Isn't it time for those few Russians to turn to the people with whom they live as neighbors. And to remember the Russian proverb: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

A. SIMONAYTIS,

Vilnius.

#### Is the Character of Vilnius Internationalist?

For many centuries Vilnius was the center of multinational cultures, even the cradle of many peoples' cultures. The first East Slavic book and the first Lithuanian book appeared there, and the city was the center of East European book publishing in the Jewish language. The first collections of Adam Mickiewicz and Konstantin Mickiewicz, classic authors of Polish and Belorussian literature (the latter is known by the name Yakub Kolas) came out there. In prerevolutionary times it was in Vilnius that Belorussian literature was revived—it had more Belorussian printing presses and bookstores than all the other cities of the "prison of peoples."

On 13 September I recalled the former glory of Vilnius while walking along Lenin Prospect. In not a single kiosk did I see a single newspaper or magazine in Belorussian. The problem is not a newspaper famine—circulations of Belorussian newspapers are still far from the limit, and Minsk is ready to deliver any number of copies to Vilnius, but for that to happen they need to be ordered.

And it was not even prerevolutionary times that I recalled when I returned home along Pyargales Street. Back in the first days of September the bookstore windows in Novo Vilnya had signs in four languages—they were seen not just by the residents of Novo Vilnya but also by the viewers of a recent television program. Alas, those signs, which had hung there for more than five years, disappeared in the second week of September. Now, from the gloomy look of the palm ferns that cover the window of that store, what comes to the mind of an uninformed passerby is a bureau of ritual services, but certainly not a bookstore.

It is not without cause that the representatives of other local nationalities are developing perfectly understandable apprehensions about the consequences of proclaiming Lithuanian to be the state language. Even Russian will have to restrict itself, not to mention the fact that up until recently its use as an accompanying language in public inscriptions has by no means been on the level of

requirements. I am referring to the pathetic practice of transcription, whereby one and the same Lithuanian name is translated in different ways in Russian—or, more precisely, is translated in as careless and slovenly fashion as possible. This treatment of the language of internationality communication is intolerable. On the other hand, while demanding the maximum respect for Lithuanian names, the capital's authorities should show the maximum respect for the memory of cultural figures of all the peoples that have recently lived here side by side without manifesting internationality discord. Internationalism is an age-old tradition of the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and later of the Severo-Zapadnyy Kray; that makes it all the more inexcusable to lose it in our time, a time of the revival of the ideals for which our forefathers, grandfathers and fathers fought.

E. STEPONAYTIS.

#### **Restructuring—on the Square**

Nowadays in the city not a day goes by without a rally. Various speeches are heard at them; some of them are to the point, and others have nothing in common with restructuring. For example, the cries "Lithuania for the Lithuanians" and "Russians go home from Lithuania!" are heard. Many people of various nationalities, observing this, are growing indignant. Where does this come from?

I think that even certain representatives of the intelligentsia are, willy-nilly, contributing with their speeches to inflaming enmity. For example, Pushkin, Suvorov and Kutuzov have fallen out of favor with Prof. Genzelis. Yet aside from the fact that Kutuzov was governor general in Vilnius, the professor cannot say anything to discredit him. And he does not even mention how Kutuzov drove Napoleon from Russian and Lithuanian soil.

It seems to me that there are people in Lithuania who hate the Russians living alongside them without any reason. But few of the Russians simply came to live in Lithuania at one time without any cause. Many of them came in response to appeals and organized recruitments to build factories, plants and institutes. Specialists were invited to install various types of complex equipment and to teach in technicums and institutes. And they helped the new generation of Lithuanian intelligentsia stand on its feet. Is it easy now for them to hear that it is time for them to go home? I do not know, but it seems to me that that is inhumane and uncultured.

Previously such hostility did not exist. And now a great deal arouses perplexity and pain. Is that how we are beginning restructuring in the republic?

V. ZIMIN,

Vilnius.

#### **Known but Incomprehensible**

SOVETSKAYA LITVA for 11 September 1988 carried the historian V. Bikulich's article, "Once Again Concerning What Has Long Been Known." I want to ask the author what Gen. A. Suvorov's services to the Lithuanian people were. For what should that people express its gratitude to him by naming one of its capital's streets after him? Back in 1945 that street bore the name of Leonas Sapega.

It is absolutely unfair, in my view, that one of Vilnius's squares, which bore the name of Napoleon, was renamed, but once again, wherein here lies the "blame" of M. Kutuzov? If it is a matter of memory—the memory of him as a prominent commander and national hero is preserved and honored by the Russian people to this day in many cities of Russia. But what is he for the Lithuanian people? A tsarist deputy, a governor general, who ruled in a relatively tranquil period and for a relatively short time.

In recent years many cultural activities have been held on this square. The republic's House of Workers in the Arts is located there. Why not call that square the Square of the Arts? There is no other square (or street) with that name in Vilnius.

R. STEYKUNAS,

Vilnius.

#### **The Bubble of 'Nationalism'**

As a person who engaged in illegal publishing activity during the years of stagnation, I state with full responsibility that we were not expressing nationalism when we marked our publications with the Vitis sign, the tricolor or some other old Lithuanian heraldic symbols, which attested only to our desire to rediscover our history, our national awareness and civic courage.

There have been many tragic and glorious pages in the history of the Lithuanian people; it has endured a great deal, but never did it bear a grudge, and never did it seek revenge and bloodshed. Nationalism in Lithuania never had deep roots and never tried to attack friendship among peoples. Every people wants to solve its own problems itself—there is no nationalism in that. Stalin's and Brezhnev's emissaries invented the myth about it in order to justify the violence they carried out against us. And now, in a desire to preserve their privileges, the spiritual heirs of those times are pinning the label of nationalism on the process of restructuring, which has become a matter of the whole people. That is necessary in order to resort to repressions again, achieve animal obedience, and surround people with every conceivable prohibition.

In the forest not all trees are straight. Thus loudmouths are showing up among us who are appealing to national isolation, but this is not a case in which extreme measures must be taken. Political sheep have existed in the past and will exist at all times.

Nationalism in Lithuania manifests itself from the other side. However, so far we avoid speaking of that out loud. Those are outbursts of Great Russian chauvinism. We people in Druskininkay frequently hear from guests of our city who are dissatisfied with something or other that we are bourgeoisie, fascists and enemies of the people. Understandably, such conduct on their part evokes a hidden reaction in response that is, however, a natural human reaction. But it has nothing in common with nationalism.

We all look with contempt on our fellow countrymen who keep seeking the opportunity to beat it to the West. However, we cannot greet with open arms those who, failing to find happiness in their own territory, come through into ours. Not a single one of these rolling stones comes to us with his own tent; instead, they receive apartments, when many decades-long residents live in poverty in old buildings without any modern conveniences. It is no secret that such seekers of happiness have contributed a great deal to our moral degradation.

At one time I wrote, and I now want to say that the number of young people who were born here but arrogantly turn away from everything Lithuanian is growing. That arrogance is acquiring the scale of a phenomenon, and it is no longer possible to attribute it merely to a lack of culture. As for Lithuanian nationalism, it is nothing but a myth, a soap bubble.

K. MEYDUNAS,

Druskininkay.

### **Baltic MD Press Conference Covers Environment, Local Civil-Military Relations**

*18010248 Moscow SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 30 Sep 88 p 3*

[Article by L. Batura and B. Sebyakin, LATINFORM correspondents: "The Baltic MD: On the Way to Renewal"]

[Text] Questions of the activity of the armed forces of the country concern every Soviet person in the most direct way. The army defends the peaceful labor of the people. Its influence on the moral climate of the society is unquestionable. Its significance as a school of courage, patriotism and ideological training is universally recognized. What kind of school will this be? Not only the fate of many young people, but also the success of the creation of the party and of the entire nation, and the cause of restructuring and renewal, will depend on the answer to this question to a significant degree.

A press conference was held at the Riga district officer's club in which the following took part: Lt Gen F. I. Melnichuk, first deputy commander of the Red Banner Baltic Military District; Maj Gen V. I. Sein, first deputy chief of the political directorate of the district, and Col V. I. Terenzhev, chief of the department of propaganda and agitation and deputy chief of the political directorate of the district.

Opening the press conference, Maj Gen V. I. Sein observed that the restructuring that is going on in the country affects all aspects of the life of society, including the army. It is impossible without the press and without a truthful elucidation of the processes that are taking place in the armed forces.

Among the questions that came from the editorial staffs of newspapers, television and radio, there were also those which touch upon the attitude of the soldiers of the district to problems of environmental protection. The population of the republic is expressing concern: do not the operations of military units adversely affect the ecological situation in Latvia?

Representatives of the district gave assurances that recently the efforts of the command on environmental protection were noticeably energized. In cases when military personnel are at fault for damaging nature, they make compensation in an obligatory way, and the officials who are to blame for this are held responsible according to the law. Strict control has been established for the observance of the terms that all unit activity must be conducted only within the limits of that territory which was earmarked by local authorities for exploitation. But life does not stand still. And therefore at times it becomes necessary to change, for example, a route for the movement of military equipment and a transport line of march. In all cases, when claims are made on the part of residents, ways have to be sought together with local soviets to correct the situation.

It was observed that every unit commander has special reception hours for citizens. In the event that any problems arise, one can always turn directly to the military unit for an explanation. The commander must give an appropriate answer to the question in the course of 7 days. There is one more official body to which a citizen can turn—the garrison commandant. The commander is obligated personally to examine the problem and to report on command to the senior commander and to give a reply.

The command authorities give a lot of attention to improving political educational work in the forces. Recently, a military council was held on international relations with the participation of the first secretary of the central committee of the Communist Party of the republic of the Soviet Baltic. A list was drawn up of joint measures of establishments, educational institutions, party committees, Soviet organs, and organizations of young people with military units. The practice of work

on education in the spirit of internationalism took shape. A lot of measures are taking place in labor collectives where servicemen are participating. And a beginning is made during personnel registration, during callup. These days conversations and meetings are being held with veterans and reserve soldiers. The republic's "Salang" club of soldier-internationalists is actively participating in this work. Lessons are conducted with young people in military schools, visits are made to units, and meetings are held with veterans. Clubs of future soldiers are operating. Those who are sufficiently seized by such patriotic training do not later tolerate mutual relationships that are at variance with regulations and that do not correspond to the demands that are made on the armed defenders of the motherland.

Glasnost and the army. It would seem that these are incompatible concepts. However, now both glasnost and democracy are finding wider application in the army. The democratic rights of all echelons and strata of the armed forces have been broadened. As an example, a regimental commander previously never rendered a report before a local party organization, and now he does. The rights of local party organizations have been broadened. And in reality, decisions are not made without the participation of the party organization, including advancements, personnel transfers, promotions and awards. Soviets of sergeants and soldiers that render their own judgments and proposals for approval by the commander are springing up everywhere. This helps resolve questions and increases the authority of the commander—from sergeant to the commander of the district.

The thought was expressed at the press conference that it is necessary under current conditions to lower the threshold of secrecy significantly. Commenting on this proposal, F. I. Melnichuk observed that there always has been and always will be a threshold of secrecy on military questions. And it is determined by higher army organs.

It is another matter that at times some people are ready literally to make everything secret that concerns the activities of the armed force. If one of the servicemen commits an infraction of the law and is not a model of high cultural behavior, he has to be criticized for this, including in the press. But it should be done in such a way so as not to damage that prestige which the Soviet armed forces rightfully won over more than 70 years of its existence.

Many questions that have been raised in the press of the republic recently were also not shunned in the course of the press conference. Will territorial military formations be created? Does the district intend to return the building of the Riga officer's club? Should not the term of service in the army and the number of troops be reduced? Will the system of student military training be changed?

Answers were not received to these and other questions, raised by the public not very long ago, that would completely satisfy all of the participants at the meeting. But, most likely, no one expected this. The resolution of some problems requires special resolutions of the government of the country and orders of the minister of defense. And so, certain questions still remained open after the press conference.

In the course of the press conference, proposals and desires were expressed to employees of the mass media about how to improve dealing with the press, television and radio on the activities of the armed forces and their ties with the local populace. It was emphasized that frequently to remove tensions that arise it would be quite opportune to inform the public of the position of the command authorities of the Baltic MD on one or another pressing question associated with the army.

Also examined were questions of giving assistance to the disabled from among soldier-internationalists and to activities of informal associations of reserve soldiers, the employment in training of servicemen with combat experience received in the Republic of Afghanistan, and specific negative cases of behavior of servicemen.

"We came to the meeting with you with an open mind," Maj Gen V. I. Sein said in conclusion. "And therefore a request: also understand our concerns and problems, do not attribute to the army that which does not afflict it, and do not make far-reaching conclusions on the basis of individual facts. I think that new meetings with you will serve mutual understanding. The training year is now ending in the forces, and the district is getting ready for an end-of-training-period performance evaluation. During it, the best soldiers will show themselves. Let them become heroes of your material! And we, in our turn, are ready to respond to all of your requests.

**Ethnic Problems in Udmurt ASSR Examined**  
*18000036 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in*  
*Russian 29 Sep 88 p 3*

[Article by K. Kulikov, director, Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature, USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Department: "The 'Small Problems' of a Small People." Passages in boldface as published]

[Text] Events in the Trans-Caucasus have stunned the entire country and every person. They could have been explained simply: before, so they say, in the strict old days, this could not have happened, but now people have felt freedom and started to stir. Or we could have exclaimed yet again: "How could this have happened?" However, if we truly wish to investigate the problem of interethnic relations, we should not, and do not have the right, to consider them from the viewpoint of a large or small people. In both theory and practice, it is necessary to completely and accurately separate the national from the nationalistic and chauvinistic.

This question is not as simple as it seems at first glance. Alas, in life these definitions frequently confuse not only simple people, but also the officials who determine policy. One of the causes of this situation is the very serious legacy of the 1930s and postwar years. We have no complete studies which might provide an objective evaluation of the irreparable harm done by Stalinism to peoples with small populations. Not only cadres, but the cultures of these peoples were annihilated. For instance, hundreds of the finest representatives of the Udmurt intelligentsia were accused of bourgeois nationalism, Trotskyism and other "isms." Enemies were sought everywhere and in every way! Even the term "national self-awareness" became taboo, since anyone who uttered it risked being labeled a bourgeois nationalist.

The Russia of the past lives on... So many books have been written about the "new society—the Soviet people," about the convergence of nations and nationalities. Yet this was at a time when it was necessary to conduct specific work on the rebirth of many nations, integrated in the 1940s, finally deprived of their native land and culture. Moreover, even today not only is there no fundamental work, but there are also simply no articles on the problems of teaching the culture of interrelation among nations, both "small," as well as "large."

The results of the census in Udmurtia testify emotionlessly: over 40 years (1939-1979), the number of Udmurts in the Udmurt ASSR has increased to... 100 people in all. Over the last decade of this period, 1970-1979, it declined by 5,400 people. The natural question: why did this happen? After all, the native population's migration from the republic is low and the birthrate is significantly higher here than in other regions. Mortality does not exceed average statistical figures. The situation can be explained in part by the increase in inter-national marriages, the children of which convert to another ethnic group. However, here is another fact. In Kirov and Perm Oblasts, only the extremely elderly understand the Udmurt language. Here we draw closer to the main point: today, the extreme shortage of schools with an ethnic instruction program is being felt, and in some places they are lacking entirely. The republic's educational agencies, which have not helped and have not tried to help the Udmurt population living outside the boundary of the autonomous republic, are largely at fault here. They have not taken the trouble to supply Udmurt schools with educational and methodical materials and have obstructed sending teachers who specialize in Udmurt to them. Moreover, the ethnic schools in Udmurtia itself were reduced from year to year. Today, the republic has 344 of them in all, in which about 29,000 pupils, one-third of all school-age Udmurt children, are instructed.

The matter has advanced to the point that our state statistics in recent years has not even inquired about data on the ethnic structure of the pupils, students and scientists. What is this? Perhaps this is a unique method for keeping an unprejudiced situation "secret"? In fact,

who would not be confused by such a figure: for almost 1,000 Udmurt villages there are all of 154 children's preschool institutions (according to Udmurt ASSR Ministry of Education data), where children are educated in their native tongue. Obviously, this situation took more than 1 year to form, and will take a long time to correct.

Meanwhile, the efforts which Minpros has made to open new kindergartens and schools, where the Udmurt language is studied even as a subject, have been ineffective. Teachers and educators are in very short supply.

Involuntarily, a comparison suggests itself. On 4 February 1919, the newspaper GUDYRN (GROM), in the article "How Many Students are Udmurts," wrote: "On 1 January this year there are 23,255 children of both sexes in 323 elementary schools in the Yelabuzhskiy District. There are 584 teachers." Let us note that this was during very serious times for the country, at a time when Kolchak's forces were 200 kilometers from Udmurtia... The arithmetic is simple: in one of four districts there were more students learning their native language and teachers, instructing children in their native language, than in all of present-day Udmurtia by a factor of 1.5. Incidentally, at that time a large number of Russian teachers, having studied the Udmurt language to perfection, were teaching it to Udmurt children. Many names have remained in the grateful memory of our people: V.V. Tolstoy, the Ustyuzhanina sisters, the Menshikova sisters, the A.A. Smirnov family... Now, it is acceptable to admit that Udmurt teachers are teaching Russian children Russian, but why is their native language kept in the background in this regard?

As everyone knows, a nation's language is the basic carrier of the people's culture and, as the poet Rasul Gamzatov said, language is no enemy to language. However, one frequently hears not only in the cities, but also in the villages: "What do we need the Udmurt language for? It is just an unnecessary load for children at school..." and the parents immediately lead their own offspring to Russian schools, absolutely certain that they are acting correctly. We are touched and boast: see what kind of a republic we have, how high we have achieved with international upbringing.

Is knowing languages really such a problem? I emphasize—languages, not one language. Have we complicated it so much that now it is hitting us like a boomerang, raising not only ideological and political but also economic questions? How do we teach a foreign language? There is school, the institute and then graduate studies. Yet, we go abroad and nearly sink into the earth in shame: we cannot get two words out straight. After all, not millions, but billions of the peoples' funds are being spent on such "instruction." In this connection, everyone—from the ordinary teacher to the chairman of the State Committee for National Education—knows that the best linguists are preschool age children. Why did the offspring of the nobility master three or more languages without particular difficulty or overload? Were they

more intelligent than our children? Far from it: it is simply that they mastered the language at the age best suited for this. Why does not our state system do an experiment? Why not send teachers to preschool institutions? After all, a language mastered before age 7 remains in memory for an entire lifetime.

However, unfortunately, we have become accustomed to something else: first we create difficulties, and then we heroically overcome them.

V.I. Lenin emphasized that "it is necessary to introduce the strictest rules regarding the use of the national language in the republics of other nations included within our Union, and to observe this rule especially carefully. Beyond a doubt, a mass of abuses of a truly Russian nature will arise under our modern system, under the pretense of railroad service unity, under the pretense of fiscal unity, etc. Particular resourcefulness is needed in the struggle against these abuses... A detailed code is required, which only the nationals living in the given republic can compile fairly successfully." Alas, for now there is no such code. General phrases about the equality of languages are changing nothing.

The native language and the national intelligentsia are two sides of the same coin. It can be directly stated that a crisis situation has formed with regard to national cadres in Udmurtia. Here are some simple examples. The state musical theater cannot do performances in the Udmurt language—there are no performers. Only 14 percent of workers in cultural institutions are Udmurts. The number of specialists with higher education is the lowest.

Let us see who holds the leading offices in industry. You can count the number of Udmurts on your fingers, although they do live in other regions and are working quite successfully. It is hardly worth seeing some kind of tendentiousness in this, although it should be directly stated that the republic's previous leadership ignored these problems. All the same, the main reason lies in the fact that there is no system for training national cadres. For instance, the Izhevsk Mechanics Institute has had 4-5 percent Udmurt graduate students for many years.

I would also like to mention publishing work and its role in the upbringing of the people's proper national self-awareness and the training of national cadres. For example, it is difficult to say what guided the directive agencies and USSR Goskomizdat when, in 1976, they issued new instructions for scientific institutions working on the problems of ethnic culture and the study of "small" peoples. According to the instructions, in terms of publishing rights these institutes were ranked together with technical and technological institutes. Thus, these institutes are now only allowed to publish thematic collections of scientific works in 500-1,000 copies. The most surprising thing is that a limit was even established for an author in one collection—one printer's sheet...

The ban on publishing fundamental works led to the fact that there are not enough highly qualified scientists—doctors of science. Scientists have become lost in petty subjects. They struggle through with little articles and work at a desk, since they can produce only one printer's sheet every 2-3 years.

Prohibitive instructions have also led to the fact that the autonomous republics suffer from a shortage of literature on their own history, culture and language. The quality and readability of these works is another problem. However, after all, it is possible to conceive of a system, such that everything is taken into consideration and books which interest the readers are produced.

The Udmurt people as well as all of the Finno-Ugric peoples of our country (and not only of ours) are extremely interested in the publication of dictionaries: of Udmurt dialects, etymological, Russian-Udmurt. Moreover, popular reference works, scientific publications, encyclopedic dictionaries and reference books, conversational dictionaries, historical-ethnographic and linguistic atlases, albums, and so forth are needed. However, neither the "Udmurtia" publishing house nor our institute is allowed to publish them. Only the "Russkiy Yazyk" publishing house should publish such works. Why? Incidentally, over the last 20 years, "Russkiy Yazyk" has been able to meet only one of our requests and officially rejected the others "in view of the lack of specialists." It managed to publish an Udmurt-Russian dictionary only 15 years after the request, in which time it had become obsolete and had to be prepared anew. The institute spent about 600 days of business trips, i.e., more than 400,000 rubles, in order to keep its associates in Moscow, yet the publishing house editor only passed his fingers over the pages and asked: "What is this?" It is obvious to any school child that an Udmurt dictionary could be published more economically and skillfully in Izhevsk, and a Yakut dictionary—in Yakutsk.

It could have been a simple, barely even technical problem. Yet, what is it turning into? Senseless bans obstruct the development of education and the professional training of national cadres.

M.F. Nenashev, USSR Goskomizdat chairman, has said a great deal about reforming publishing work. We had hoped that changes would also occur here and sent our specific suggestions to RSFSR Goskomizdat. However, everything was concluded by the fact that institute publishing plans will now be approved by local Goskomizdat agencies, while preserving the controlling function of the central agency... The mountain has created a molehill. Now the old instructions remain in effect, but under a triple control system: local, Russian and Union Goskomizdat agencies.

In inter-national relations there are not and should not be any small things. The Udmurt intelligentsia often ask: how come the republic does not have a single monument to its national heroes, to participants in the revolution,

to leaders of science and culture? After all, monuments were erected in other republics, oblasts and krays even during the period of "restrictions on monuments." It is impossible to make history fit a convenient framework precisely so. Who, for example, would profit from the assertion that before the revolution the Udmurts did not have a written alphabet of their own? Even now, one can read this in many encyclopedic publications. Did Udmurt intellectuals also conceal the "Udmurt Grammar," published in 1775, and the works of Udmurt educators and literati, of which about 250 titles were published before the revolution? No one will dispute the fact that October was a turning point in the life of the "small" peoples, that their rebirth began precisely since then. However, how come the pre-October history has not been noted?

The problems are large and small, general and specific. There is no other way, except the calm and thoughtful solution of all of the problems which have built up over many years. It is very fortunate that a fundamental basis exists for this—the teachings of V.I. Lenin.

**Nationalities Disturbances Create Problems In Naval Training**  
**18010125a Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Oct 88 p 5**

[Article by Captain 3rd Rank V. Bisultanov, Pacific Fleet: "The Nationality Aspect of the Military Collective—United by a Common Goal"]

[Text] Not long ago the Naval Political Directorate sent naval units reference materials that contained summarized information about the historic and national features of some of the union republics and the ethnic features, traditions and daily customs of the people that had settled them. If you consider that at the present time our crew's quarters are filled with representatives from "all of those republics," it is not difficult to guess that there were many places in which this information was met with a lot of attention and interest. One of the most important aspects was that there were none of the bombastic clichés that set people's teeth on edge, the very clichés that had previously filled such commemorative booklets.

Our attitude toward the problem of an inter-nationality indoctrine for soldiers is changing practically before our eyes at the present time. There are much fewer bombastic phrases on this subject. There are more and more sober, realistic evaluations, and commanders and political workers are putting more pressing interest into the fact that inter-nationality attitudes, how they take shape and how they are manifested, are a reality in military collectives.

This is quite a lot. I remember how some officers underwent a kind of shock after the well-known nationalistic displays in Alma-Ata in December 1986. They said that it was as if the sacred objects with which they

had educated people for many years were tumbling to the ground. What could they take to the sailors to use to prepare for the unexpected?

Now there is something to use as comparison. In particular, the events around Nagorniy Karabakh and the peculiarities of the situation in the Baltic which are naturally raising a number of interpretations have shown that it is totally possible for educational organizers at the local level to master the science of open and honest dialogue on the most difficult issues. Examples? I don't think that there is a ship in our major unit on which you will still find that cold officialness which was previously often seen at united political days, during political exercises and anytime the national issue was being discussed. The comparison of opinions, with all of their differences of opinion, brought out one notable fact—an impartial truth is better than formal unfounded optimism. People must see how much work has to be done to master the culture of multi-nationalities relationships in the military collective so that people always feel a comrade's reliable shoulder around and live in unity and agreement and also see at times how easily all of this is disrupted because of a lack of attention toward the national peculiarities of soldiers, a lack of respect for the national traditions, or because of someone's exceptional arrogance, haughtiness, national conceit, egoism, reservedness and aloofness.

However I really don't want to talk about indifference. As you can imagine, the work of educating personnel in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism for the sake of the high ideal of defending socialism and protecting our united Fatherland at this stage has gone far beyond the bounds of "pure" propaganda and agitation. Its main goal is to achieve radical changes in the content and systemality that embrace absolutely every sphere of army and navy life and to become exceptionally scientific in nature.

It is undoubtedly true that commissions and groups are being set up at political agencies and party committees to get involved in the problems of multi-nationality relations. But as we do this, I hope that we do not fall into the old errors that caused times when good concepts were not backed up with business-like execution.

I know that there are places where people are asking if we are not amusing ourselves with these illusions about the effectiveness of those commissions and groups and whether anything has changed in their appearance. Their uneasiness is justifiable. Their show of activity is actually only causing irritation. And if everything again comes to nothing but paper creativity, the idea will be ruined. I personally feel that the main thing, one that is practical within the sphere of daily service, is that the national interest of all servicemen boils down to setting up strict regulatory order, guaranteeing that everyone without exception is equal in regard to regulatory requirements, and maintaining an equal and even attitude toward every man. If you think about it, the various

conflicts that we have had have been given a national coloration not because Ivan's "characteristics did not agree" with Akhmed's or Bakhtang's with Guseyn's (although this does happen), but rather because regulations are often generally violated. The training process includes violations in its setup, the service organization leaves much to be desired, daily duty details do a poor job of carrying out their responsibilities, and so forth. It is here, in these deviations from the regulatory line, that one should most often and first of all seek the reasons for the origin and manifestation of mutual hostility.

Or take social and domestic conditions. For example, we habitually attribute the poverty that is often manifested in visual propaganda when covering the subject of the friendship and unity of our peoples as gaps in international education and we are uneasy if few books and periodicals in national languages arrive at military libraries. That is, we attempt to watch after spiritual sustenance, at times forgetting that the people's way of life also has an expressed social aspect which also has a direct influence on the atmosphere in the collective and on the development of relations among people.

For example, the saying that "objective reality defines consciousness" is very obvious in the example of the notorious two-tiered system. No wonder company starshina's [sergeants major] nickname this "structure," one which we have not yet eliminated once and for all for these many years, a "source of increased danger." And we should generally note here that the intra-barracks "heierarchy" which has not been immediately overcome in some places is most often precisely parasited onto some type of domestic discomfort.

For some reason even now there is a steadfast conviction that there is nothing that promotes cohesiveness more than jointly overcoming general "rigors and deprivation," yet people do not have in mind those concepts that are established in regulations, but something totally different. In my opinion this is fundamentally wrong. And more so in that life has shown that there are almost no difficulties that are common, that is, the same for everyone. One sees striking contrasts both in domestic conditions and in attitudes toward spiritual demands on personnel even within one unit.

For example, how should we react to the fact that a national music ensemble was started on the patrol boat Pezkiy, whereas adjacent ships only pined for one in envy, watching the brilliance with which amateur talent concerts are given. The complaints about the lack of talent, the lack of instruments and so forth look very unconvincing against this background. Difficulties of this type can be explained in only one way—by a lack of interest, ingenuity and organizational principles.

Finally, I think that life springs from a state of rest and prolonged shifting and those who are still dozing do not want to note the changes that are taking place around themselves. Yes, life is a strict teacher. We like to allude

to its lessons, but still primarily in the past. When you are faced with a completed fact, like it or not, you have to do something. And if I am to be totally frank, we rely primarily on written documentation. It has become correct to plan even ongoing work in no other way than in "light" of some instructions and directives.

Someone may ask what is wrong with tactfully listening to impulses from above. Of course there is nothing bad or good in that. But it wouldn't hurt us to learn also how to adjust carefully to impulses from below, compare short- and long-term forecasts ourselves and stay alert as we work.

For example, people in the Navy are noticing that from year to year graduates from senior political-military schools, those from whom we especially expect fresh ideas and an innovative approach in this area, are obviously immediately lost when confronted with all the complexities of the multi-nationality relationship problem. This year while our major unit got to know the graduates of the Kiev VVMPU [Higher Naval Political School] we found that none of the lieutenant political workers was able to sensibly answer the question of what they saw as the peculiarities involved in party political work in a multinationalized military collective. This is rather bad for professionals. It is long past time for our military schools to consider the real demands of army and navy practice.

And the junior officers must have practical as well as theoretical knowledge so that they can repeat experiences that have already been worked out in units, on board ships and in subunits and thus make a start. Here is an example. The ship commanded by Captain Lieutenant A. Vasilyev recently returned from a difficult extended cruise. As we all know, there are many significant psychological stresses associated with accomplishing this combat mission. But one can also put the monotonous environment with its many brutal limitations in a light tone if one so desires. On a trawler the sailors' birthdays are such unique events in the course of a cruise weekday.

People felt that a personal holiday was an excellent chance to select a person whose name day it was and also point out his small Motherland, his republic, oblast, city and village in some special way. Although the trawler has a small crew, it is still multi-nationalized. It is a sort of mini-portrait of Soviet society with complex tanglings of history, fates and characters. So the ship's communists have showed special concerns for this unity of patriotic and international conviction.

In speaking about the shipboard level as a foundation in which the training and educational process is ongoing we nonetheless recognize that there is absolutely no way that you can shift absolutely everything that has not been taught at various stages somewhere else to this locale. This especially applies to organizing exercises for soldiers who have a poor mastery of the Russian language. In my opinion the subunit groups that study Russian cannot solve this entire problem. And even more so because few special textbooks reach these areas (for

example, no new textbooks have arrived in Kamchatka for about three years now). At times ship commanders have been forced to assign some young sailors into sections and commands not by their military training specialties, but rather by the fact that they learned to speak and understand Russian faster. This, for example, is what was done with sailor R. Usmonov, an Uzbek by nationality, on the patrol boat Lun this spring. This was immediately reconfirmed when he arrived at the crew of seaman gunners and boatswains where the section was a starshina with good pedagogical inclinations.

It is clear that such perturbations are not the best solution to this situation. It is now too costly to provide the graduates with those things that they did not get at

home and in school. But once the Navy has assumed those functions, wouldn't it be smarter to concentrate on them at the first place in the training detachment? For example, spend a month there on Russian language studies for those who need it.

People are correct in saying that everyone goes through the school of patriotism and internationalism in his own way. But it has to be done in practice. One's consciousness is developed from what you see around you and everything is a result of your own experience. And this is why the seriousness of our intentions to educate soldiers based on the foremost ideas of perestroika must definitely acquire a practical manifestation as soon as possible.

10

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